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DIO CHRYSOSTOM

IV

DIO CHRYSOSTOM

WITH AN ENGLISH TRANSLATION BY

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IN FIVE VOLUMES

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DIO CHRYSOSTOM

THE THIRTY-SEVENTH DISCOURSE: THE CORINTHIAN ORATION

This discourse is plainly not the work of Dio. It is inferior in style, quite [illegible] sions, and often out of harmony with accepted traditions as to matters of history. Moreover, the speaker calls himself a Roman (§ 25 and 8). Emperius long ago named Favorinus as the author, and that identification has met with general approval.

The most detailed information regarding Favorinus is provided by Philostratus. In the *Sophists* (i. 8, though Aulus Gellius, who had attended under Favorinus, often praises his teaching) Favorinus was a native of Arelate (Arles). He may have attended his early education at Massilia, where he could have acquired that facility with the Greek language of which he was so proud (§ 25, 26, 33). According to Philostratus, he was said to have listened to Dio, but to have been so far removed from him as those who hadn't. He created a great stir in Rome, even among those who knew no Greek but were charmed by the sound of his voice, the significance of his glance, and the rhythm of his gesture.

Favorinus at first enjoyed the favour of Hadrian, but he lost it, at least for a time, when accused of adultery with the wife of a consul. In consequence the Athenians threw down the bronze statue with which they had honoured him. It is perhaps that incident to which he makes veiled allusion in § 35. One infers from §§ 31–38 that Corinth had taken similar

action for the same reason, but the peroration, in which the speaker seems to be apostrophizing the missing statue, is very mystifying. A literal reading of the passage would lead to the supposition that there is some hocus pocus by means of which the statue is suddenly placed on view, a prearranged unveiling, as it were. However, Edmonds may be right (*Lyra Graeca*, I p. 237, L.C.L.) in identifying the σιγῶν εἴδωλον of § 46 with the oration then being delivered rather than with any statue, real or imaginary. In that case Favorinus might be regarded as dedicating his address to posterity. That he had escaped punishment at the hands of Hadrian might be inferred from the confident tone of §§ 34 and 35, even if we lacked the express testimony of Philostratus. That he should have traveled widely was to be expected in the case of a man of his calling and reputation, and he refers to his travels with much pride in §§ 26 and 27. His most famous pupil was doubtless Herodes Atticus, whom he made his heir.

This Discourse may have been included among the works of Dio because of its superficial likeness to Or. 31 in subject matter, since both dealt with the popular custom of erecting statues and with the strange fate that sometimes overtook such marks of esteem.

ΔΙΩΝ ΧΡΥΣΟΣΤΟΜΟΣ

37 ΚΟΡΙΝΘΙΑΚΟΣ

1 Ὅτε τὸ πρῶτον ἐπεδήμησα τῇ πόλει τῇ ὑμετέρᾳ, ἀφ' οὗ δέκα ἔτη σχεδόν, καὶ τῶν λόγων μετέδωκα τῷ δήμῳ καὶ τοῖς νέοις τοῖς ὑμετέροις, ἔδοξα ἐπιτήδειος εἶναι ἔτι δ' οἱ κεῖος[1] ὑμῶν οὕτω σφόδρα ὡς οὐδὲ Ἀρίων ὁ Μηθυμναῖος Ἀρίονος μέν γε τύπον οὐκ ἐποιήσασθε ὅταν δὲ ὑμᾶς λέγω, τοὺς προγόνους λέγω τοὺς ὑμετέρους καὶ Περιανδρον τὸν Κυψέλου τὸν σοφόν, ἐφ' οὗ Ἀρίων ἐγένετο, ὃς[2] καὶ διθύραμβον πρῶτος ἀνθρώπων ἐποιησε καὶ ὠνόμασε καὶ ἐδίδαξεν ἐν Κορίνθῳ

2 Θεοφιλὴς μὲν γὰρ οὗτος ἦν ὥστε ἀναπλέων ἐνταῦθα μετὰ χρημάτων μεγάλων, ὧν ἔτυχεν εἰργασμένος περὶ Τάραντα καὶ τοὺς ἐκεῖσε Ἕλληνας, μέλλων εἰς τὴν θάλατταν ὑπὸ τῶν πορθμέων ἐκπεσεῖν δι' αὐτά που ταῦτα τὰ χρήματα, παρῃτήσατο αὐτοὺς πρὸ τῆς ἐκβολῆς ᾄσαι, ὥσπερ φασὶ

[1] οἰκεῖος added by Capps: Wilamowitz deletes ἔτι δέ.
[2] ὅς] omitted by Arnim with M m. pr.

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[1] On the north coast of Lesbos.
[2] Periander was generally included among the Seven

DIO CHRYSOSTOM

THE THIRTY-SEVENTH DISCOURSE
THE CORINTHIAN ORATION

When I visited your city the first time, nearly ten years ago, and gave your people and magistrates a sample of my eloquence, I seemed to be on friendly, yes, intimate, terms with you to a degree not equalled even by Arion of Methymna.[1] At any rate you did not have a statue made of Arion. Of course when I say you, I am speaking of your forebears and of Periander the sage,[2] son of Cypselus, in whose day Arion flourished, being the first not only to compose a dithyramb but also to call it by that name and to present a dithyrambic chorus in Corinth.

Now Arion was so dear to the gods that, when on his voyage back to Corinth, bringing great riches which he had had the good fortune to win by his labours in the neighbourhood of Tarentum and among the Greeks of that region, as he was about to be cast into the sea by the sailors—no doubt because of that very wealth of his—he besought them ere they threw him overboard to let him sing, just as men say that

Sages. He was tyrant of Corinth toward the end of the 7th century B.C.

[1] The dithyramb was a choral song in honour of Dionysus. Aristotle, *Poetics* 1449 a, finds in it the germ of tragedy.

τοὺς κύκνους μέλλοντας ἀποθνῄσκειν καὶ προορωμένους τὸν θάνατον ἐμβιβάζειν τὴν ψυχὴν οἷον εἰς
3 ὄχημα τὸ μέλος ὁ μὲν δὴ ᾖδε· καὶ γὰρ ἦν νηνεμία καὶ σιγὴ κατὰ θάλατταν καὶ τὸ μέλος ᾖσθοντο δελφῖνες, αἰσθανόμενοι δὲ περὶ τὴν ναῦν ὥρμησαν[1] παυσαμένου δὲ τοῦ Ἀρίονος καὶ τῶν πορθμέων οὐδὲν μαλακὸν[2] ἐνδιδόντων, ὁ μὲν ἔρριψεν εἰς τὸν πόντον, δελφὶς δ' ὑπελθὼν ἐξεκόμισε τὸν ᾠδὸν ἐπὶ Ταίναρον ὡς εἶχε σὺν τῇ σκευῇ Ἀρίων μὲν οὖν τοῦτον τὸν τρόπον σωθεὶς καὶ φθάσας τοὺς πορθμέας ἐν Κορίνθῳ ἦν, αὐτὰ δὴ ταῦτα διηγούμενος
4 τῷ Περιάνδρῳ ἐπικαταγομένων δὲ τῶν πορθμέων καὶ τοῦ πράγματος ἀχθέντος εἰς ἔλεγχον, οἱ μὲν ἀπέθνῃσκον, Ἀρίων δέ, οὐ γὰρ Περίανδρος, ἀλλ' Ἀρίων, ποιησάμενος μίμημα χαλκοῦν οὗ μέγα ἀνέθηκεν ἐπὶ Ταινάρου,[3] αὐτὸν ἐπὶ τοῦ εὐεργέτου καθήμενον.

Ἐγένετο δὲ ὑπὸ τὸν αὐτὸν τοῦτον χρόνον καὶ Σόλων μὲν ἐν Κορίνθῳ, φεύγων τὴν Πεισιστράτου
5 τυραννίδα, οὐ φεύγων δὲ τὴν Περιάνδρου. οὐ γὰρ ἦν ὅμοιον· ὁ μὲν καταλύσας τὴν δημοκρατίαν ἐτυράννευε τῶν Ἀθηναίων, Περίανδρος δὲ παρὰ τοῦ πατρὸς διαδεξάμενος τὴν βασιλείαν, ὃν οἱ μὲν

[1] περὶ τὴν ναῦν ὥρμησαν Capps, περὶ τὴν ναῦν ᾖσαν Herwerden, περιέπλευσαν Naber, περὶ τὴν ναῦν συνῆσαν Arnim περὶ ναῦν ἦσαν,
[2] μαλακὸν] μᾶλλον UB.
[3] καὶ after Ταίναρον deleted by Emperius.

swans about to die and foreseeing their death are wont, as it were, to sing their song of death, the lays of song.[1] So then he sang, calm and serene, broaded on the deep, and dolphins heard his song, and as they heard it they rushed about the ship. And when Arion ceased and the sailors showed no relenting, he leapedout into the sea, but a dolphin came beneath him and carried the singer safely to Taenarum,[2] just as he was, gear and all. So then Arion, saved in this manner and having outstripped the sailors, was in Corinth narrating these very happenings to Periander. And when the sailors later entered port and the matter was brought to trial, the sailors were put to death, but Arion, not Periander, mark you, but Arion, on having a bronze likeness of no great size set up at Taenarum, a likeness of himself astride the back of his benefactor.[3]

And about this same time Solon too came to Corinth, fleeing from the tyranny of Pisistratus,[4] but not from that of Periander. No, for that was a different matter, since Pisistratus was tyrant of Athens through having destroyed the democracy, Periander was tyrant through having received the royal power by inheritance from his father, whom the

[1] Possibly a reminiscence of Pindar, frag. 89, Bergk-Christ.

[2] Southernmost cape of Laconia, now Cape Matapan.

[3] We meet this famous tale, first in Herodotus, I. 23-24, who however does not tell of the execution of the sailors or who erected the statue, which as we see, or perhaps not, was [illegible] Arion, *ibid.* 24, preserves the dedicatory inscription:

> Δῶρον τοῦδε τόδ' ἔστιν ἀναθήματος, ὃν ποτ' Ἀρίων
> ἐν δελφῖνος ἐπωμίδι πόντον ἔβαν ἐπέων

[4] This visit of Solon is nowhere else recorded.

Ἕλληνες τύραννον ἐκάλουν, οἱ δὲ θεοὶ βασιλέα· ἢ γὰρ οὐχ οὕτως ὁ χρησμὸς ἔχει,

ἄλλος οὗτος ἄνωθ' ὃς ἡμῶν δόμον εἰσαφικάνει,
Κινύλος Ἡνιόχης, βασιλεὺς ἐλειτοῖο Κυρήβου,
αὐτὸς καὶ παῖδες.

6 ἦν δὲ οὗτος ὁ Περιανδρος ὁ τῶν σοφῶν ἑβδόμος· οὗτος δὴ Περιανδρος, ὑπὸ μὲν τοῦ θεοῦ βασιλεύς, ὑπὸ δὲ τῶν Ἑλλήνων δεσπόζεν σοφός· οὐ μείζονα δόξαν οὐδεὶς πώποτε βασιλεὺς ἢ τύραννος ἐκτήσατο· ἀλλ' οὐδὲ Ἀντίοχος ὁ θεὸς ἐπικληθεὶς οὐδ' Μιθριδάτης ὁ Διόνυσος· τίμιος δ' ἦν καὶ Πιττακὸς Μυτιληναῖος ἅμα ἀμφοῖν κεκλῆσθαι καὶ τύραννος καὶ σοφός· νῦν δὲ περιεχόμενος τὸν ἑβδόμον σοφῶν ἀπεσκευάσατο τὴν τυραννίδα· καίτοι Περιανδρος σοφὸς μὲν ἦν μετ' ἄλλων, τύραννος δὲ μετὰ πολλῶν ἀμφότερα δὲ

7 καὶ τύραννος καὶ σοφὸς μόνος· παρὰ τούτου ὁ Σόλων ἄλλων καὶ τύχων τῶν ἀρίστων κοινὰ γὰρ τὰ φίλων· ἀλλ' ἅμως εὐθαρσεῖν οὐκ ἔτυχεν, οὐ δίκαιον κατηφορεῖν ἀλλοιούντος, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοῦ δὲ Σόλωνος χαλεπῶς ἐστιν μέγα φρονοῦντος· τὸ θεῖον γὰρ δὴ οὐχὶ ἐν Κορίνθῳ ἐν τῷ περιπάτῳ τῆς Ἑλλάδος, ἦν δὲ καὶ Ἡρόδοτος ὁ λογοποιὸς ὡς ἡμᾶς λόγους φέρων Ἑλληνικοὺς ἄλλους τε καὶ

[1] οὐδὲ Emperius: οὔτε
[2] [illegible] which Leo would delete.
[3] καὶ τὸ Reiske: κοινὰ.

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[1] *Tyrant* at first meant mere *ruler*. [illegible] from [illegible] *Iliad* [illegible] 403–406 and [illegible]

[2] Cf. Herodotus 5. 95

[3] i.e. Antiochus II (286–246 B.C.).

Greeks were wont to call tyrant though the gods called him king. For is not this the way the oracle has it?

> A happy man is he who to my fane
> Dedicates Hades's Cypselus the king
> Of famous Corinth, he and his children too.[1]

One of these children was Periander himself, who succeeded his father. Now this Periander called king by the god was pronounced a sage by the Greeks. Now never did any king or tyrant ever gain, no, not even Alexander, surnamed Dionysus[2] nor Mithridates surnamed Dionysus.[3] And even Pisistratus of Athens and might have been proud to be called at one and the same time both tyrant and sage, but, as a matter of fact, in clinging to the second title he stripped himself of his tyranny.[4] Yet as for Periander, when he bared the name of sage with a few and that of tyrant with many, as both tyrant and sage he stood alone. Wherefore when Solon visited Periander and received a share of their common possessions, for the possessions of friends are held in common,[5] yet he received no statue, though surely he did not disdain a statue, as he esteemed highly the honour of having had a bronze statue of himself set up at Salamis. Then why not in Corinth the promenade of Hellas? Again Herodotus the historian also paid you a visit, bringing tales of Greece,[6]

[1] Mithridates Eupator (120–63 B.C.). Appian and Plutarch attest the surname.

[2] Pisistratus usurped power in 560 B.C., but resigned ten years later.

[3] A familiar proverb, cf. Euripides, *Orestes* 735.

[4] Aristotle, *Politics* iii. 13, says the statue stood in the market-place of Salamis.

Κορινθίους οὐδέπω ψευδεῖς, ἀνθ' ὧν ἡξίου παρὰ τῆς πόλεως μισθὸν ἀρνεῖσθαι· διαμαρτὼν δὲ καὶ τούτου· οὐ γὰρ ἡξίουν οἱ ὑμέτεροι πρόγονοι δόξαν ἀγοραίαν μετεσκευάσειν ἐκεῖνα ἃ πάντες ἐπιστάμεθα, τὰ περὶ τὴν Σαλαμῖνα καὶ τὸν Ἀδείμαντον.

8 Ἡμᾶς δὲ δὶς ἐπιδημήσαντας οὕτως ἀσμένως ἐπεδέχετ' ὥστε μάλιστα μὲν[a] ἐπειρᾶσθε κατέχειν, ὁρῶντες δὲ ἀδύνατον ὄν, ἀλλά γε[b] τὴν εἰκὼ τοῦ σώματος ἐποιήσασθε καὶ ταύτην φέροντες ἀνεθήκατε εἰς τὰ βιβλία, εἰς προσόδους, οὐ μάλιστ' ἂν ᾤεσθε τοὺς νέους προκαλεσάσθαι τῶν αὐτῶν ἡμῖν ἐπιτηδευμάτων ἔχεσθαι· οὐ γὰρ ὡς ἕνα τῶν πολλῶν καὶ κατ' ἐκείνου καταιρούντων εἰς Κεγχρεὰς ἔμπορον ἢ θεωρὸν ἢ πρεσβευτὴν ἢ διερχομένου, ἀλλ' ὡς[c] μόλις διὰ μακρῶν χρόνων ἀγαπητὸν ἐπιφανόμενον, οὕτως ἐτιμᾶσθε.

9 τιμὴ δ' ἠΰτ' ἐνείρος ἀποκταμένῃ πεπότηται

ὥστε ἐμὲ ἐν ἀπόρῳ καθεστάναι καὶ πρὸς ἐμαυτόν καὶ νὴ Δία ἤδη πρὸς ἕτερον, ποτερ' ὡς ἀληθῶς οὐκ ἔβλεπον, οὐδὲ ὕπαρ ἀλλὰ ὄναρ ἦν τὰ γιγνόμενα, ἢ τὰ μὲν ἦν ταῦτα ταῖς πάσαις ἀκριβείαις, ἀπουδή τε τοῦ[d] πλήθους καὶ κρίσις τῆς βουλῆς, ὁ δ' ἀνδριὰς τῶν Δαιδάλου ποιημάτων ἔτυχεν ὢν

[a] ἀνεῖδον Reiske: ἀνεῖδον.
[b] ὥστε μάλιστα μὲν Emperius: ὡς ἂν μάλιστα μὲ.
[c] γε Sauppe: καὶ.
[d] ἀλλ' ἀν Casaubon: ἄλλως.
[e] τοῦ Reiske: τῆς.

[1] Herodotus (8. 94) reports the Athenian claim that at the beginning of the battle Adeimantus, the Corinthian commander fled with his contingent. Meeting with an unknown vessel whose crew taunted the Corinthians with cowardice and announced the victory of the Greek forces, he turned

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

10 καὶ λαθὼν ἡμᾶς ἀπέδρα. ἀλλ' ἀφ' οὗ Δαίδαλος ἐτελεύτησεν, οὐδεὶς εἰς ταύτην τὴν ἡμέραν ἐξίκετο τῆς τέχνης μέχρι τοῦ καὶ δρασμὸν ἐμποιεῖν τῷ χαλκῷ ἀλλὰ διαβεβηκότας μὲν εὖ καὶ καλῶς ποιοῦσι, τοὺς δὲ καὶ ἐφ' ἵππων ὀχουμένους μένουσι μέντοι οὗτοι πάντες κατὰ σχῆμα καὶ χώραν, κἂν μή τις αὐτοὺς μετακινήσῃ, τό γε ἐπ' αὐτοῖς εἶναι[1] χαλκὸς ἄδραστος, ἂν καὶ πτερὰ ἔχῃ, ὥσπερ καὶ ὁ τοῦ Πυθαγόρου Περσεύς

11 Ἵνα δὲ καὶ τῆς ἀρχαίας τέχνης ᾖ τῆς Δαιδαλείου, τί παθὼν ἂν ὑμῶν ἀπηλλάγη τῆς πόλεως, ὑπὲρ ἧς τοὺς δύο θεοὺς φασιν ἐρίσαι, Ποσειδῶνα καὶ τὸν Ἥλιον, τὸν μὲν τοῦ πυρὸς κύριον, τὸν δὲ τοῦ ὕδατος, ἐρίσαντε δὲ καὶ τὴν δίαιταν ἐπιτρέψαντε τρίτῳ θεῷ πρεσβυτέρῳ, οὗ

πλεῖσται μὲν κεφαλαί, πλεῖσται δέ τε χεῖρες,

τούτῳ τὴν δίαιταν ἐπιτρέψαντες ἀμφότεροι τήνδε τὴν πόλιν καὶ[2] τὴν χώραν ἔχουσιν· οὔτι που μικρὸν οὐδ' ἀμυδρὸν σημεῖον τῆς πρὸς τὰς ἄλλας

12 ὑπεροχῆς. αἱ μὲν γὰρ ἄλλαι ληξεις τε καὶ κτήσεις τῶν θεῶν κατὰ μόνας εἰσίν· Ἄργος μὲν Ἥρας, Ἀθηνᾶς δὲ Ἀθῆναι καὶ αὐτῶν γε τούτων τῶν

[1] εἶναι Selden : εἴη. [2] καὶ M τε καὶ UB.

[1] On the miraculous powers of Daedalus, see Plato, *Euthyphro* 11 c.

[2] This sculptor, like his contemporary Myron, was skilled in depicting movement. The close association of Perseus

was one of the works of Daedalus and slipped away without our notice.[1] However, not since the death of Daedalus down to the present day has any one made such progress in the art of sculpture as to impart to bronze the power of flight; nay, though they make statues of men with a free and noble stride, and sometimes even riding on horseback, still these all maintain their pose and station and unless some one moves them, so far as they are concerned bronze has no power to flee, not even if the statue has wings, like the Perseus of Pythagoras.[2]

But supposing my statue to be actually of the ancient craftsmanship of Daedalus, for what strange reason would it have taken leave of your city, the city for which they say the two gods, Poseidon and Helios, vied with one another, the one being god of sea, the other lord of water.[3] And after the twain had striven and had entrusted the decision to a third god who was their elder,

> Whose heads were many, many too his arms,[4]

having, as I say, left to him the decision, they both have held this city and district ever since, surely no slight or obscure sign of its superiority over all other cities. For while the others are the portion and property of the gods individually, Argos of Hera and Athens of Athena, and while with reference to these very gods of whom I speak, Rhodes belongs to

with Corinth suggests that the statue in question may have been made there.

[1] Author unknown. The allusion is to Bellerophon.

[2] Pausanias (ii. 4. 5) reports as a Corinthian tradition that Poseidon and Helios strove with each other for possession of Corinth, and that Bellerophon awarded the latter to Poseidon and to Helios the height which dominates the city, i.e. Acrocorinth.

θεῶν Ῥόδος μὲν Ἡλίου, Ὀγχηστὸς δὲ Ποσειδῶνος, Κόρινθος δὲ ἑκατέρων νικάσας ἂν αἰνιττομένου τοῦ μύθου τὸ τῆς γῆς ἐν μέσῳ δύο πελαγῶν ὑπὸ τοῦ Ἡλίου ἐξαίρετον[1] βουλομένου τοῦ Ποσειδῶνος.[2]

13 Τὰ μὲν οὖν τοῦ μύθου τε καὶ τοῦ λόγου, τῇδέ πῃ συνάδοντα[3] τρίτην ἐπὶ τριακοσαῖς χάρισι[4] τὴν θεσπιῳδὸν Σίβυλλαν παρακαλεῖ· τιμὴν δέ οἱ[5] θεοῦ φωνὴν λαχοῦσα ᾧδει μαλα μέγα

εὔδαιμον τί τοι αὖδ' ὦς[6] ὄλβιος αὐχὴν
Ὠκεανοῦ κούρης Ἐφύρης, γαῖ'[7] ἔνθα Ποσειδῶν,
μητρὸς ἐμῆς Λαμίας γενέτωρ, προὔθηκεν ἀγῶνα
πρῶτος ἅμ' Ἠελίῳ, τιμὰς δ' ἠνέγκατο μοῦνος,

14 καὶ γάρ τοι καὶ ἀγῶνα πρῶτον ἐνταυθοῖ τεθῆναί φασιν ὑπὸ τῶν δύο θεῶν, καὶ νικῆσαι Κάστορα μὲν σταδιον, Κάλαϊν δὲ δίαυλον· καὶ γὰρ Κάλαϊν φασι δραμεῖν, ἀπεχομένου τοῦ πετεσθαι· διὸ δὲ καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους, ἐπείπερ ἠρξάμεθα, ἀθλοφόρους τε λεχθῆναι καὶ νικηφόρους· Ὀρφεὺς κιθάρᾳ, Ἡρακλῆς παμμάχιον,[8] πυγμὴν Πολυδεύκης, πάλην

[1] ἐξαίρετον] ἐκφανῆν Geel.
[2] βουλομένου τοῦ Ποσειδῶνος] Retha deletes.
[3] συνᾴδοντα Geel: συνῳδοντα.
[4] τριακοσαῖς χάρισι] διὰ τριακοσίων χάρισι Geel, διὰ τριακοσίων μάρτυσι Arnim.
[5] τιμὴν δέ οἱ Crosby, τιμὴν δὲ τοῦ Arnim: τῇ μὴ δέ οἱ M, τιμῇ δέοι U, τιμῇ δέ οἱ B.
[6] εὔδαιμον τί τοι αὖδ', ὦς Emperius, εὔδαιμον τιτυώδεον Arnim: ὦ δαῖμον τ' τοι ἴδοι M, ὦ δαῖμον τί τοι ἴδοι δὲ U B.
[7] γαῖ' added by Post.
[8] παμμάχιον Baguet: πάμμαχον.

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[1] Onchestus, in Boeotia, though in ruins in the time of Pausanias, had been prominent in the worship of Poseidon. Cf. *Iliad* ii. 506 and *Homeric Hymn to Apollo* 229-238.

Helios and Dechestus to Poseidon! Cuirath belongs to each of the two. [illegible] that the strife of [illegible] between two [illegible] great made by Helios became Poseidon wished it so.

[illegible] and [illegible] while singing in fair harmony on the [illegible] prophetic song as a [illegible] for their [illegible] and also having [illegible] as her prerogative the voice of a god, sings aloud:

> What pleasure [illegible] happy as he blest
> [illegible] wherewith
> [illegible]
> [illegible] with Helios [illegible] be gained?
> Though we know the honours [illegible] received?

For the fact is you know [illegible] that the [illegible] [illegible] by the [illegible] [illegible] and [illegible] the [illegible] for we are [illegible] [illegible] from doing [illegible]. But now that we have [illegible] the [illegible] [illegible] there too who were [illegible] and [illegible] [illegible] Orpheus was [illegible] with the [illegible] Heracles in the [illegible] and [illegible] in having Poseidon in wrestling Peleus in the [illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible] Argonautic Expedition.

Πηλεύς, δίσκον Τελαμών, ἐνόπλιον Θησεύς· ἐτέθη δὲ καὶ ἵππων ἀγών, καὶ ἐνίκα κέλητι μὲν Φαέθων,
15 τεθρίππῳ δὲ Πηλεύς· ἐγένετο δὲ καὶ νεῶν ἅμιλλα, καὶ Ἀργὼ ἐνίκα, καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα οὐκ ἔπλευσεν, ἀλλὰ αὐτὴν ἀνέθηκεν ὁ Ἰάσων ἐνταῦθα τῷ Ποσειδῶνι, καὶ τὸ ἐπίγραμμα ἐπέγραψεν, ὃ λέγουσιν Ὀρφέως εἶναι·

Ἀργὼ τὸ σκάφος εἰμί, θεῷ δ' ἀνέθηκεν Ἰάσων,
Ἰσθμια καὶ Νεμέοις στεψάμενον πίτυσιν.

Ὅποι δὲ θεαὶ ἀγωνοθετοῦσιν, ἡμίθεοι δὲ νικῶσι καὶ νικῶνται, ἀναπαύεται δὲ Ἀργὼ, τίνα τούτου τόπον καλλίω ἐξευρεῖν ἐδύνατο αὐτὸς ὁ Δαίδαλος πτεροῖς πετόμενος, οὐχ ὅτι γε δὴ τὸ Δαιδάλου
10 ποίημα, ἀλλ' οὔτε ἀπίδρα οὔτε ἐπεχείρησεν οὔθ' ὅλως ἐμέλλησε· καταλείπεται τοίνυν αὐτοὺς τοὺς Κορινθίους ἐκβαλεῖν αὐτὸν μήτε κρίσεως προτεθείσης μήθ' ὅλως αἰτίαν ἔχοντας· ἐπενεγκεῖν καὶ τοῦτ' ἂν ἐπείσθη τις κατὰ Κορινθίων ὧν οἱ πρόγονοι διὰ πάντων Ἑλλήνων μάλιστα δὴ δικαιοσύνην ἐπήσκησαν, ἢ γὰρ οὐχ οὗτοί εἰσιν οἱ τὰς τυραννίδας ἐν ταῖς πόλεσι καταλύοντες καὶ τὰς δημοκρατίας καθιστάντες καὶ τὰς Ἀθήνας ἀπὸ τῶν τυράννων ἐλευθεροῦντες, πρότερον μὲν ἀπὸ
17 Ἱππίου, ὕστερον δὲ ἀπὸ Κλεομένους, καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα ὡς αὐτοὶ Ἀθηναῖοι πρᾶγμα ποιεῖν ἐπ-

[1] ἔχοντας Morel: ἔχοντος. [2] τοῦτ' ἂν Crosby: τοῦτο.
[3] ἢ Emperius: ἡ M, ἢ UB.

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[1] Doubtless composed by our author himself.
[2] Cf. § 9, where it is pointedly suggested that Daedalus made the statue which has so mysteriously disappeared.

Telamon, in the contest in armour Theseus. And there had been instituted also a contest for horses, and Phaëthon won with a courser, and Nereus with a team of four. And there was also a boat-race, in which Argo was the winner, and after that she sailed no more; but Jason dedicated her there to Poseidon, and he carved on her a couplet, which men say is the work of Orpheus:

> I am the good ship Argo, to God by Jason devoted,
> Victor in Isthmian Games, crowned with Nemean pine.[1]

But a place where gods control the games, and heroes are the victors and the vanquished, and Argo lies at rest, what love of place has the crowd! Daedalus himself discovered, as he flew with wings, to say nothing, of course, of that statue made by Daedalus.[2] Nay, that statue of mine, mother, ran away not tried to do so, nor had any such intention at all; therefore we are off to our [illegible] lie that the Corinthians themselves banished it, not only without holding any trial, but also without having any charge at all to bring against it. And would any one have believed this to the discredit of the Corinthians, whose forefathers were pre-eminent among the Greeks for their love of justice? For I ask you, was it not they who put an end to the tyrannies in the cities and established the democracies and freed Athens from her tyrants, first from Hippias and later from Cleomenes,[3] and who after that, when Athens herself undertook to play the role of Hippias and

[1] Herodotus allows Corinth no part in the expulsion of either Hippias or Cleomenes, and Cleomenes was not a tyrant but a Spartan king who seized the Acropolis.

ἐχείρουν Ἱππίου καὶ Ἰσαγόρου καὶ τυραννίδα τῆς Ἑλλάδος καθίστασθαι, πρῶτοι μὲν αἰσθόμενοι, μάλιστα δὲ ἀλγήσαντες, ἡγεμόνες τοῖς ἄλλοις τῆς ἐλευθερίας καταστάντες, καὶ ταύτην τὴν διάνοιαν οὐ μόνον ἐπὶ τῶν Ἀθηναίων, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐπὶ τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων διαφυλάξαντες; καὶ γὰρ[1] Λακεδαιμονίοις ὑπὲρ τῶν κοινῶν δικαίων τῆς Ἑλλάδος μετὰ τῆς Θηβαίων καὶ Ἠλείων πόλεως ἀντέβησαν· ᾧ καὶ διέδειξαν οὐ φιλοκάλως ἔχοντες[2] ἀλλ' ἁπλῶς φιλέλληνες καὶ φιλοδίκαιοι καὶ φιλελεύθεροι
18 καὶ μισοπόνηροι καὶ μισοτύραννοι. μισοβάρβαροι μὲν γὰρ οὕτως ἦσαν, ὥστε εἰς Θερμοπύλας τετρακοσίους[3] σφῶν αὐτῶν ἀπέστειλαν, ὅτεπερ καὶ Λακεδαιμόνιοι τριακοσίους.[4] ἐν Σαλαμῖνι δὲ ἠρίστευσαν καὶ τῆς νίκης αἴτιοι κατέστησαν. Ἡροδότῳ γὰρ οὐ προσέχω, ἀλλὰ τῷ τάφῳ καὶ τῷ Σιμωνίδῃ, ὃς ἐπέγραψεν ἐπὶ τοῖς νεκροῖς τῶν Κορινθίων τεθαμμένοις ἐν Σαλαμῖνι

ὦ ξένε, εὔυδρόν ποτ' ἐναίομεν ἄστυ Κορίνθου,
νῦν δ' ἁμὰ Αἴαντος[5] νᾶσος ἔχει Σαλαμίς
ῥεῖα δὲ Φοινίσσας νῆας καὶ Πέρσας ἑλόντες
καὶ Μήδους ἱερὰν Ἑλλάδα ῥυσάμεθα[6]

[1] γὰρ added by Amim.
[2] φιλοκάλως ἔχοντες φιλελλήνωνες ὄντες Selden.
[3] τριακοσίους Cobet, relying on Herod. 7, 202 τετρακοσίους.
[4] δ' ἁμὰ Αἴαντος Valckenaer and Bergk: δὲ μετ' Αἴαντος mss., δὲ ἀνάμαντος Plutarch.
[5] Ἑλλάδα ῥυσάμεθα Jacoby: Ἑλλάδ' ἐρυσάμεθα, Ἑλλάδα ῥυόμεθα Plutarch.

Isagoras[1] and to set up a tyranny over Hellas, being the first to sense what was going on and being especially pained thereat, led the way to freedom for the others and maintained that purpose, not only in the case of the Athenians, but also that of the Spartans[2]. For examples in company with the states of Hellas and Hellas they opposed, be Spartans in defence of the common rights of Hellas[3], and by this act they also showed that they were not mere lovers of honour, but rather lovers of Hellas, of justice, of freedom and haters of slavery and tyranny. Yes, and they were such haters of barbarians, that they dispatched to Thermopylae four hundred of their own troops on the same occasion on which the Spartans sent three hundred[4]. And at Salamis they won the prize for valour and became responsible for the victory. Now I pay no heed to Herodotus[5], but rather to the funeral monument and to Simonides, who composed the following epitaph for the Corinthian dead who were buried in Salamis:

> O stranger, once we dwelt in Corinth blest
> With fortunes, now the isle of Ajax holds
> Our bones. With ease we took Phoenician ships,
> Vanquished alike the Persians and the Medes,
> And saved our sacred Hellas from the foe[6]

[1] Isagoras visited the Acropolis in Cleomenes. He was the chief opponent of Cleisthenes after the expulsion of Hippias.

[2] [illegible] with Thebes, and like took common action for a brief moment after the Peace of Nicias, though presumably for [illegible]

[3] Cf. Herodotus 7. 208

[4] Cf. § 7

[5] Plutarch, *de Herod. malig.* 39 c, gives the epitaph but not the poet's name.

19 ἔστι δὲ καὶ ἕτερον ἐπίγραμμα Σιμωνίδη εἰς αὐτὸν τὸν στρατηγὸν ἐξαίρετον

οὗτος Ἀδειμάντου κείνου τάφος, οὗ διὰ βουλὰς
Ἑλλὰς ἐλευθερίας ἀμφέθετο στέφανον.

ἠλευθέρωσαν δὲ καὶ τὴν Σικελίαν ἀπὸ τῶν βαρβάρων, καὶ τὰς Συρακούσας δὲ ἀπὸ τῶν τυράννων ἦν δ' ἰδεῖν Διονύσιον ἐν Κορίνθῳ, θέαμα κάλλιστον, οὐδενὸς κύριον ἀλλ' ὅμως οὐδὲ τοῦτον οὐδεὶς ἠδίκει οὐδὲ ἐξέβαλλεν οὐδ' ἀπήλαυνε[1] τῶν ἐκ Σικελίας.[2]

20 Τὸ δ' ἀνάθημα τῆς πόλεως τίς ἀνέτρεψεν; εἰ[3] μὲν οὖν στρόβιλος ἢ πρηστὴρ ἢ σκηπτὸς ἐμπεσών,[4] σείων καὶ κεραυνὸν ἰθύνων—εἰ δ' ἔστι τις κρίσις ἀνδριάντος, οἷαν φασὶν ἐν Συρακούσαις γενέσθαι—ὃν δὲ τρόπον οὐκ ὀκνήσω ἐπεμβαλόμενος διηγήσασθαι Συρακοσίους τοὺς ἀποίκους τοὺς ὑμετέρους ἐν πολλοῖς πολέμοις πρὸς Καρχηδονίους καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους βαρβάρους τοὺς τὴν Σικελίαν καὶ τὴν Ἰταλίαν κατοικοῦντας ὁ χαλκὸς ἐπιλελοίπει
21 καὶ τὸ νόμισμα· ἐψηφίσαντο οὖν τοὺς τῶν τυράννων ἀνδριάντας—οἱ δὲ πολλοὶ ἦσαν παρ' αὐτοῖς χαλκοῦ πεποιημένοι—συγκόψαι κρίσιν γε ἐν αὐτοῖς ποιήσαντες, ὅστις ἄξιος αὐτῶν καταχωνευθῆναι

[1] ἀπήλαυνε Crusius : ἐξήλαυνε.
[2] τῶν ἐκ Σικελίας Dindorf deletes.
[3] εἰ] οὐ Arnim.
[4] Arnim suspects a lacuna after ἐμπεσών.

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[1] Cited by Plutarch, *op. cit.* 39 *e*, but without naming the poet.

And Simonides also has another epitaph referring particularly to the commander himself:

> Here lies that Adeimantus by whose designs
> Greece boasted about her brows fair freedom's crown.[1]

And what is more, the Corinthians also freed Sicily from the foreigners and [illegible][2] And Dionysius was then to be seen [illegible] a most glorious spectacle—born of a base power—and [illegible] who had tried to banish him or [illegible] him of the wealth he brought with him from Sicily.[3]

But [illegible] overturned the statue dedicated by the city. Of course, if it was a [illegible] wind or a hurricane or a thunderbolt that struck it, [illegible] it to tatters and [illegible] it. But if it was a location of some [illegible] such as they say took place in Syracuse—but how [illegible] place I [illegible] not think from [illegible] by way of parenthesis. The Syracusans, your ancestors, in the course of their many wars against the Carthaginians and the other nations who dwelt in Sicily and Italy, had run short of bronze and currency—so they voted that the statues of their tyrants—most of the statues in their city were made of bronze—should be broken up. That is, after the people had held a trial to determine which of the statues deserved to be melted down and which did

[1] Thucydides (the historian) in the years 466–395 B.C. [illegible] defeat [illegible] the Carthaginians [illegible] Sicily [illegible] and most of the Sicilian tyrannies.

[2] [illegible] of money [illegible] an event of much interest to both the Corinthians and the Greeks in general.

καὶ ὅστις οὔ καὶ περιγίγνεται τῇ δίκῃ, ἵνα καὶ τοῦτο ἀκούσητε, Γέλων ὁ Δεινομένους. οἱ δ' ἄλλοι πάντες κατεκόπησαν, πλὴν ἄρα Διονυσίου τοῦ πρεσβυτέρου τῶν τὸ σχῆμα τοῦ Διονύσου[1] περικειμένων.

22 Εἰ δὲ γένοιτο καὶ παρ' ὑμῖν ψήφισμά τι τοιοῦτον, ἀνδριάντων εὐθύνας εἶναι, μᾶλλον δ' εἰ θέλετε καθάπερ ἐψηφισμένον γε τοῦτο καὶ ἀγῶνος ἀνεστηκότος, δότε μοι, δότε τοὺς λόγους ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ[2] πρὸς ὑμᾶς οἷον ἐν δικαστηρίῳ ποιήσασθαι.

Ἄνδρες δικασταί, ἅπαντά φασι δεῖν προσδοκᾶν ἐν τῷ μακρῷ χρόνῳ· οὗτος δ' ἐν τῷ βραχεῖ κινδυνεύει τεθῆναι μὲν ὡς ἄριστος Ἑλλήνων, ἐκ-
23 πεσεῖν δ' ὡς πονηρότατος. ὅτι μὲν οὖν καλῶς καὶ δικαίως καὶ συμφερόντως τῇ πόλει τῇ ὑμετέρᾳ καὶ πᾶσι τοῖς Ἕλλησιν ἐστάθην,[3] πολλὰ ἔχων εἰπεῖν ἂν ὑμῖν βουλομαι διηγήσασθαι γενόμενον ἐν ταῖς αὐταῖς Συρακούσαις. καὶ γὰρ οἰκεῖον τὸ παράδειγμα, καὶ δικαιον ἴσως ἐστίν· ὥσπερ ἐκεῖνοι τιμῶσι τὴν μητρόπολιν, οὕτω καὶ ὑμᾶς τὰ τῆς ἀποικίας τῆς ὑμετέρας ἔργα καλῶς ἔχει[4] μιμεῖσθαι.

24 Ἐκεῖνοι τοίνυν κατὰ τοὺς ἀρχαίους ἐκείνους χρόνους Λευκανόν τινα ἄνθρωπον, ὅτι πρεσβείαν τινὰ

[1] Διονύσου Casaubon : Διονυσίου.
[2] αὐτοῦ Crosby : αὐτοῦ.
[3] ἐστάθην] ἐπαίθη Emperius.
[4] καλῶς ἔχει] ἃ καλῶς ἔχει Reiske, ἃ ἂν καλῶς ἔχῃ Wilamowitz.

not [illegible] and—for you must hear this too—[illegible] of Dionysius[illegible] and the tyrant [illegible] for the others, the man were [illegible] except of course the statue of Dionysius[1] the ruler of the part portrayed wearing the attributes of Dionysus.

Thus surpassing [illegible] such decree were to be passed in [illegible] so presumptuous that statues should be subjected to an accounting or rather, if you please, to questioning. [illegible] and a trial to have [illegible] permit me, I pray, permit me to make my plea before you in my own behalf as if in court.

[illegible] of law are it is said that anything may be expected [illegible] who stands before you is to [illegible] of [illegible] being set up, as the noblest among the Greeks and then being cast out as the worst, all in a brief span of time. Now then, to prove that I was set up fairly and justly and in the good [illegible] of your city and of all the Greeks I could speak at length, but there is one thing I do want to tell you which took place in that same Syracuse. For indeed the situation is germane and there may be justice in it too, just as the people of Syracuse honour their mediocrity, so also it is well that you should know the examples of your citizens.

Very well, in those early days, because a certain Laconian spoke Doric in reporting some [illegible]

[1] Tyrant of Syracuse 405–367 B.C. His statue is immortal from [illegible] he is to be being both the first [illegible]

[2] [illegible] Syracuse from 60 to 367 B.C. [illegible] and [illegible] We are [illegible] to suggest the god from whom their name was derived.

εἰς τὸν δῆμον ἀπήγγειλε δωριστί, ἡσθέντες αὐτοῦ τῇ φωνῇ τά τε ἄλλα ὑπὲρ ὧν ἥκεν οὐκ ἄπρακτον ἀπεπέμψαντο καὶ ταλάντῳ ἐδωρήσαντο καὶ τὴν εἰκόνα τοῦ σώματος ἐστήσαντο, καὶ διὰ τοῦτο πολὺν ἔπαινον ἐκτήσαντο[a] παρὰ τῶν ἀστυγειτόνων καὶ τῶν ἐκεινῃ Δωριέων, τῶν τε ἄλλων καὶ τῶν τὴν Ἰταλίαν κατοικούντων, ὡς εὖ τὸν ἄνδρα καὶ φιλοκάλως ἀμειψάμενοι ὑπὲρ τοῦ γένους τοῦ Δωρικοῦ, οὗ τὴν φωνὴν ἐπηοκήκει ἄχρι τοῦ καὶ λέγειν δυνατος εἶναι

25 *Εἰ δέ τις οὐ Λευκανὸς ὤν, ἀλλὰ Ῥωμαῖος, οὐδὲ τοῦ πλήθους, ἀλλὰ τῶν ἱπποτρόφων, οὐδὲ τὴν φωνὴν μόνον ἀλλὰ καὶ τὴν γνώμην καὶ τὴν δίαιταν καὶ τὸ σχῆμα τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἐζηλωκώς, καὶ ταῦθ' οὕτως ἐγκρατῶς καὶ περιφανῶς, ὡς οὔτε τῶν πρὸ αὐτοῦ Ῥωμαίων οὔτε τῶν καθ' αὑτὸν Ἑλλήνων, εἰρήσεται γάρ, οὐδὲ εἷς· τῶν μὲν γὰρ Ἑλλήνων τοὺς ἀρίστους ἔστιν ἰδεῖν ἐκεῖσε πρὸς τὰ τῶν Ῥωμαίων πράγματα ἀποκλίνοντας, τὸν δὲ[b] πρὸς τὰ τῶν Ἑλλήνων καὶ τούτων ἕνεκα καὶ τὴν οὐσίαν καὶ τὸ πολιτικὸν ἀξίωμα καὶ πάνθ' ἁπλῶς προϊέμενον, ἵν' αὐτῷ περιῇ ἓν ἀντὶ[c] πάντων Ἕλληνι δοκεῖν τε καὶ εἶναι—εἶτα τοῦτον οὐκ ἐχρῆν παρ'*
28 *ὑμῖν ἑστάναι χαλκοῦν; καὶ κατὰ πόλιν γε παρ' ὑμῖν μέν, ὅτι Ῥωμαῖος ὢν ἀφηλληνισθη, ὥσπερ*

[a] καὶ ἐκτήσαντο conjectured by Cobet. Casaubon noted the lacuna.
[b] After τὸν δὲ Arnim deletes προστάτην.
[c] ἓν ἀντὶ Valesius . ἐναντίον.

before the Assembly, those Syracusans were so pleased by his discourse that they not only sent him home with gifts for the general purposes of his mission but also presented him with a statue and set up a likeness of him; and on that account the Syracusans were much commended for from the neighbouring cities and from the Dionysia of that region, especially from those who dwell in Italy, who felt that they had received the man in fine and elegant fashion in both of the chief ways, whereas it not he had cultivated to the point of being actually crowned in it.

Well, if some one who is not a Lucanian but a Roman,[4] not one of the younger but of the equestrian order, one who has affected not merely the language but also the thought and manners and dress of the Greeks and that too with such mastery and manifest success as to be one among others by Romans of earlier days, the Greeks of his own time, Lucanian has achieved for which the best of the Greeks over there[3] may be seen striving toward Roman ways, he inclines toward the Greek and to that end is sacrificing both his property and his position standing and also is everything, striving to achieve that thing at the cost of a mere name, not of a mere seem Greek but to be Greek, has taking as the sole consideration, might he not to have a heroic statue here in Corinth? Yes and in every city, in more because, though Roman, he has become thoroughly

[1] The orators above of Lucania, Dion Chrysostom and [illegible] the [illegible] and surpassing [illegible] of [illegible]

[2] [illegible] Dionysia.

[3] [illegible] the [illegible] See introduction.

[4] I.e., in Rome.

ἡ πατρὶς ἡ ὑμετέρα, παρὰ Ἀθηναίοις δέ, ὅτι
ἀττικίζει τῇ φωνῇ, παρὰ Λακεδαιμονίοις δέ, ὅτι
φιλογυμναστεῖ, παρὰ πᾶσι δέ, ὅτι φιλοσοφεῖ καὶ
πολλοὺς μὲν ἤδη τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἐπῆρε συμφιλο-
σοφεῖν αὐτῷ, οὐκ ὀλίγους δὲ καὶ τῶν βαρβάρων
37 ἐπεσπάσατο· ἐπ' αὐτὸ γὰρ τοῦτο καὶ δοκεῖ ὑπὸ
τῶν θεῶν οἷον ἐξεπίτηδες κατεσκευάσθαι, Ἕλλησι
μέν, ἵνα ἔχωσιν οἱ ἐπιχώριοι τῆς Ἑλλάδος παρα-
δείγμα ὡς οὐδὲν τὸ παιδευθῆναι τοῦ φυναι πρὸς
τὸ δοκεῖν διαφέρει· Ῥωμαίοις δέ, ἵνα μηδ' οἱ τὸ
ἴδιον ἄξιωμα περιβλημενοι τὸ παιδεύεσθαι πρὸς
τὸ ἄξιωμα παρορῶσι· Κελτοῖς δέ, ἵνα μηδὲ τῶν
βαρβάρων μηδεὶς ἀπογιγνώσκῃ τῆς Ἑλληνικῆς
παιδείας, βλέπων εἰς τοῦτον.

Ἐσταθην μὲν οὖν διὰ τοιαύτας τινὰς προφάσεις,
ἵνα μὴ πλείους λέγων δοκῶ προάγειν ἀμαιτὸν εἰς
38 ἀπέχθειαν· ἔστι δ' οὐχ ὅμοιον ὑπὲρ ἀναστάσεως
εἰκόνος βουλεύεσθαι καὶ καθαιρέσεως. διὰ τί; ὅτι
ἕκαστος τούτων τῶν παρ' ὑμῖν ἀνακειμένων, εἴτε
βελτίων εἴτε χείρων ἐστίν, ἤδη τὰ τῆς ὁσίας
περικείται, καὶ χρὴ τὴν πόλιν αὐτοῦ προεστάναι
ὡς ἀναθήματος· πολλὰ ἂν τις ἔχοι εἰπεῖν ὑπὲρ
τοῦ μὴ δεῖν Γοργίαν τὸν σοφιστὴν ἐν Δελφοῖς ἑστά-
ναι, καὶ ταῦτα μετέωρον καὶ χρυσοῦν. Γοργίαν

[1] συμφιλοσοφεῖν Capps, συμφιλοσοφήσει Cobet; συμφιλοσοφήσειν
[2] ἐπ' αὐτὸ Selden, ἐπέπαυτο.
[3] δοκεῖ Crosby, δόκει.
[4] ἐσταθην ἐστάθη Arnim
[5] προάγειν Pinomus, προσάγειν.
[6] βελτίων εἴτε added by Dindorf, πρείττων εἴτε Casaubon, εἴτε βελτίων οὔτε χείρων Reiske.
[7] ὁσίας Selden, οὐσίας.

[1] Destroyed by Mummius in 146 B.C., Corinth was re-founded by Julius Caesar in 44 B.C. as a Roman colony. In

he learned, even as your own city has[1] — in Athens because he is Athenian in his speech, in Sparta because he is devoted to athletics, in other cities everywhere because he pursues the study of wisdom and already has not only roused many of the Greeks to follow that pursuit with him but has attracted even more of the barbarians. Indeed, it seems that he has been commended by the gods for the purpose of [illegible] for the Greeks so that the nature of that land may have an example before them to show that culture is to be sought and rose to birth with respect to renown, for Rhodes, which has not even those who are wrapped up in their own affairs, [illegible] regard [illegible] with respect to an esteem. For [illegible] that not the even of the barbarians may despair of attaining the culture of Greece when he looks upon this man.

Why, then, is it for some such reasons as these that I have been erected, but [illegible] wish to [illegible] by naming more? For [illegible] erecting for the erection of a statue is not the planning for its tearing down. Why? Because each one of these statues which have been erected in your city, be it [illegible] or be it [illegible], at once invested with the attributes of sanctity, and the city should defend it as a votive offering. One might urge many reasons in support of the claim that Gorgias the sophist should not have a statue at Delphi and what is more, a statue on a lofty base and made of gold[2]

the victory and a bust that followed a scene to have been [illegible] the speaker is evidently [illegible]

[1] [illegible] the speaker may mean the people of Ancient [illegible]

[2] [illegible] of the famous Sicilian orator is noted by many ancient writers, but no one [illegible] refers to the particular

τί λέγω. ὅπου γε καὶ Φρύνην τὴν Θεσπιακὴν
ἔστιν ἰδεῖν, ἐπὶ κίονος[1] κἀκείνην ὡς Γοργίαν
29 Ἀλλὰ τὸ μὲν εὐθὺς ἐκστῆναι νόμιμον ἴσως καὶ
πολιτικόν, τὸ δ' ὕστερον ἐλθόντας τῆς ἀπιθέσεως
ἀναλυσιν πειρᾶσθαι τὰ δεδογμένα, Ἄπολλον, βαρύ
καὶ οὐδεὶς ἂν ἠνέσχετο τῶν Ἀμφικτυόνων καὶ
γὰρ εἰ μὴ θεὸν ἐστάθησαν, τὸ σταθῆναι προλαβόν-
τες θεὸν ἱστήκασιν, ἐξ οὗ προειλήφασιν ὥσπερ
γὰρ τῶν εἰς ἐναυτὸν αἱρουμένων κἂν ἀνάξιος ᾖ
τις[2] ἀρχῆς, τὸν γοῦν ἐνιαυτὸν ἐκεῖνον εἰς ὃν ἠρέθη
ἄρχων διατελεῖ, οὕτω δὴ[3] καὶ τοῖς ἀνδριᾶσι κύριον
εἶναι δεῖ τὸν χρόνον, ἐφ' ὃν ἐστάθησαν ἔστι δὲ
30 οὗτος πᾶς ὁ λοιπὸς χρόνος ἢ τί διωστετε τῶν
τοὺς πηλίνους πλαττόντων; τί δὲ καλὸν ἔξετε
λέγειν πρὸς τοὺς ἀπαιτοῦντας ὑμᾶς τὸν λόγον τοῦ
τὰς μὲν τιμὰς εἶναι παρ' ὑμῖν θνητάς, τὰς δὲ ἀτι-
μίας ἀθανάτους, εἰ τοίνυν οὐδὲν[4] αἰσχρὸν τοῦτό
ἐστι, καίπερ ὂν θεῶν, ὡς[5] κομιδῇ τετυφωμένης
πολιτείας ἀνδριαντας ἐπέτειοι, ὥσπερ οἱ καρποί
οὓς γὰρ οὐχ ἵν' εὐθὺς ἐκλείπωσιν, ἀλλ' ὅπως πλεῖ-
στον χρόνον παραμείνωσι, χαλκοῦς ἱστατε, τούτους
ἀποφαίνετε καὶ τῶν κιρίνων μαλακωτέρους
31 Ἦ νὴ Δί' ὅτι ἐφθήναι πονηρους ὕστερον συνέβη,

[1] Γοργίου τι with U γοργίαν τι BM, γοργίου M m. pr
[2] ἐπὶ κίονος Jacobs: ἐν κιόνοις BM, ἐν κιόνος U
[3] τοῦ Reiske: τῆς [4] δὴ Ar m. 2 M.
[5] οὐδὲν Emperius: οὐδέ.
[6] ἀεὶ πᾶν οὐ Reiske, οὐ Ar m. ὅμως Post

[1] Phryné was a famous hetaera of the 4th century B.C. Pausanias (10. 15. 1) attributes her statue at Delphi to Praxiteles, "one of her lovers."

[2] Amphictyonies were religious leagues for the protection of some cult centre. The oath by Apollo shows that the

Why do I name Gorgias, when you may see there even Phrynê of Thespiae, perched on a pillar like Gorgias?

However that may be, while it is possibly legitimate and within the right of persons [illegible] at the [illegible] to grant [illegible] the [illegible] a statue [illegible] a grievous wrong, and [illegible] Amphictyons [illegible] permitted it.[1] [illegible] were [illegible] since they have [illegible] of having erected [illegible] that [illegible] and [illegible] from the men who [illegible] and [illegible] And what [illegible] answer [illegible] why the [illegible] philosophers [illegible] If then [illegible] happen [illegible] what [illegible] that [illegible] whose [illegible] immediately [illegible] have [illegible] as possible [illegible] images of war.

Oh, by Heaven, will the [illegible] be that more than [illegible] as it happened, [illegible] to the

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speaker has in mind the Delphic Amphictyony; he is still thinking of Gorgias and Phrynê.

εἰ μὲν ὕστερον γεγόνασιν, οὐκ ἀφίησι τὴν πόλιν τῆς αἰτίας· οὐ γὰρ τῶν μελλόντων, ἀλλὰ τῶν παρῳχηκότων ὑμεῖς δίδοτε τὰς τιμάς. εἰ δὲ πρότερον ὢν τοιοῦτος ὕστερον κατωπτεύθη, ποτέρως ἂν οἴεσθε μᾶλλον παρὰ τοῖς Ἕλλησιν εὐδοκιμῆσαι[1] καὶ ποτέρως ἂν τοὺς εὖ βουλομένους[2] ὑμᾶς ποιεῖν προκαλέσασθαι, τὴν κρίσιν ἀνάδαστον[3] ποιήσαντες ἢ τοῖς ἅπαξ δεδογμένοις ἐμμείναντες; ἐγὼ μὲν οὕτως ἡγοῦμαι. τὸ μὲν γὰρ ἠτυχηκότων, τὸ δὲ βεβαίων ἐστὶν ἀνθρώπων.

32 Οὔπω λέγω τὸ μέγιστον, ὅτι οὐκ[4] ἐκ διαβολῆς, ἀλλ' ἐκ καταδίκης, μηδ' ἐκ τῆς τυχούσης αἰτίας, ἀλλ' ἐκ τῆς μεγίστης δεῖ τὴν τηλικαύτην, ἂν ἄρα δέῃ,[5] τιμὴν ἀνατραπῆναι. διαβολῆς μὲν γὰρ ἕνεκα κἂν[6] Σωκράτης εἴη τῶν νέων διαφθορεὺς καὶ πάντων τῶν ἐν ἀνθρώποις νομιζομένων ἀνατροπεύς, ἀπὸ τῶν θεῶν ἀρχόμενος. τίνας γὰρ οὗτοι οὐ διαβεβλήκασιν οἱ πάντα διαβάλλοντες; οὐ Σωκράτην, οὐ Πυθαγόραν, οὐ Πλάτωνα, οὐκ αὐτὸν τὸν Δία καὶ τὸν Ποσειδῶ καὶ τὸν Ἀπόλλω καὶ
33 τοὺς ἄλλους θεούς; ἅπτονται δὲ καὶ τῶν θη-

[1] εὐδοκιμῆσαι Emperius : εὐδοκιμήσειν.
[2] βουλομένους Selden : βουλευομένους.
[3] ἀνάδαστον] ἂν δ' αὐτὸν M, ἀνάδικον Wilamowitz.
[4] οὐκ Wilamowitz : οὐδ'.
[5] ἂν ἄρα δέῃ Emperius : ἂν ἄρα δεῖ M, ἀνάδαστον UB.
[6] κἂν Dindorf : καὶ.

rogues? If they have turned rogues subsequently, that does not free the city of its guilt; for it is not because of what it is to be but rather because of what has been that you confer your honours. If, on the other hand, a man who previously was a scoundrel was only subsequently discovered to be so, by which course of action do you suppose you would be more likely to win esteem among the Greeks, and by which course would you most effectively appeal to those who wish to do you favours—by undoing your decision or by abolishing what has been decided once for all? As for myself, I believe it is by the second course of action. For the one course is that of men who have missed their aim, the other that of men of steady purpose.

I have not yet mentioned the most important consideration, which is that so signal an honour should be upset, if at all, not in consequence of slander, but by due process of law, and not for some casual fault, but only for the greatest. For so far as slander is concerned, even Socrates might be a corrupter of youth and a subverter of all the cherished beliefs of men, beginning with the gods. For whom have these men failed to slander who slander any one at all? Have they not slandered Socrates, Pythagoras,[1] Plato?[2] Have they not slandered Zeus himself, Poseidon, Apollo, and all the other gods?[3] And they lay impious hands even upon the female deities,

[1] Pythagoras was ridiculed for certain peculiar rites and practices, but appears to have had no share of [illegible]

[2] [illegible] Plato [illegible] assemblies [illegible] the [illegible] of Plato.

[3] [illegible] myth-[illegible] [illegible] material for the [illegible] of many of the gods. Scandalous tales were most common in connexion with Zeus.

λεῶν θεῶν, ὧν εἰκὸς ἦν ἔτι μᾶλλον ἢ τῶν ἀρρένων ἐντρεπεσθαι — νὴ Δί',[1] ἀκούετε γὰρ ἃ λέγουσι τὴν Δήμητρα καὶ τὴν Ἀφροδίτην καὶ τὴν Ἑκάτην ἀπέχονται δ' οὐδὲ τῆς Ἀθηνᾶς οὐδὲ τῆς Ἀρτέμιδος ἀλλὰ τὴν μὲν ἀπογυμνοῦσι τῷ Ἀκταίωνι, τὴν δὲ[2] καὶ συνάγουσι τῷ Ἡφαίστῳ καὶ ποιοῦσι τὴν παρθένον μικροῦ μητέρα — ταῦτ' οὖν ἐπιστάμενοι θαυμάζετε, εἰ καὶ κατὰ τούτου[3] τις ψόγος διεδόθη, ὃν ἐκφυγεῖν μὲν οὐδενὶ τῶν πάντων ὑπῆρξε τῶν ἐν δόξῃ βεβιωκότων, τὴν δὲ ἀφορμὴν ἔλαβεν ἐκ τῆς περὶ τοὺς λόγους εἴτ' ἐπαφροδισίαν αὐτὴν εἴθ' ὅ τι δήποτε χρὴ καλεῖν τοῦτο ὃ καὶ ὑμεῖς σὺν γυναιξὶ καὶ τέκνοις ἀποδέξασθε.

34 Οὐ σκέψεσθε, οὐκ ἀναμνησθήσεσθε πρὸς ἑαυτούς, εἴ τι τοιοῦτον αὐτῷ παρ' ὑμῖν πεπρᾶκται, καίτοι πολὺ οἰκειότατον τῶν οὐσῶν τε καὶ γεγενημένων ἐπαφροδιτοτάτην, ἀλλ' ὅμως οὐδὲν ἠκούσατε, θαρρῶν δ' ἂν εἴποιμι ὅτι μηδὲ ἄλλος τις Ἑλλήνων — εἴτα τὸν ἐπὶ τῆς Ἑλλάδος ἐν πλείσσι ἀδείᾳ καὶ συγγνώμῃ κοσμίως βεβιωκότα, τοῦτον ἐπὶ τῆς Ῥώμης παρ' αὐτὸν τὸν ἄρχοντα καὶ τοὺς

[1] νὴ Δία Emperius — τοῦ.
[2] τὴν δὲ added by Selden.
[3] τούτου Reiske: τοῦτο.

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[1] With the notable exception of Aphrodite, the Greeks do seem to generally have dealt more kindly with their goddesses than with the gods.

[2] Save for the incident at Athens with Poseidon reported by Pausanias (8.25.4), and that with Jason (Hes. *Th.* 125-126), Demeter's reputation seems to have been spared.

[3] A bad *τὸ* was fair sport for the Greeks from Homer on.

[4] Presumably a reference to her affair with Thoranis, first recorded in the *Homeric Hymn to Aphrodite* 218-238.

for whom they might be expected to feel even more reverence than for the [illegible]. Are by Heaven for [illegible] what they say of Demeter[1] and [illegible] and Zeus[2] and [illegible] do not accept these [illegible] Athena or Artemis; on the contrary they [illegible] Artemis[3] raised for Actaeon and they unite Athena with Hephaestus and [illegible] a mother of the Virgin[4]. Therefore [illegible] as you do are you surprised if there has been spread a mixed age not this [illegible] of those who have lived distinguished lives has had [illegible] but which in his case is [illegible] of [illegible] or whatever [illegible] with women and children [illegible]

Will you not consider the matter? Will you not [illegible] whether any such thing has been [illegible] Although you [illegible] Aphrodite's [illegible] that are [illegible] you have heard nothing of the [illegible] and I venture to assert no other [illegible] either. Then do you believe that the man who has lived a decent life in Greece, in the midst of greater heroes and in disgrace, has suffered transformation in Rome in the

[1] A [illegible] encountered her at the bath and was [illegible] to [illegible] Ovid, *Metamorphoses* [illegible]

[2] [illegible]

[3] For the charge of immorality in question, see [illegible]

[4] It seems highly probable that the speaker is [illegible] on the [illegible] of [illegible] being [illegible] the [illegible] be understood as in connexion with the charge against him.

νόμους ἡγεῖσθε μεταβιβλῆσθαι, ἀλλὰ τοῦτό γε παραπλήσιον ἐστιν, ὥσπερ ἂν εἴ τις τὸν ἀθλητὴν φαίη καθ' αὑτὸν μὲν εὐτακτεῖν, ἐν δὲ τῷ σταδίῳ καὶ παρὰ τὸν ἀγωνοθέτην πλημμελεῖν

26 Παρρησίαν δὲ ἔγωγε διωλῆν, ἑνὸς μὲν τοῦ συνειδότος, ἑτέρου δὲ τοῦ ἀγωνοθέτου πεπιστευκότος μὲν πᾶσαν τιμωρίαν παρὰ τοῦ ἡμαρτηκότος λαβεῖν, ἀκουσάντος δὲ μηνύσαι[a] ἅπερ ἐκεῖνος ἐποίησεν· ὑμεῖς δ' ἐπακολουθήσαντες ἀνθρώποις οὐδὲν δὲ αὐτοὺς ἐρῶ ὡς ἀμυνόμενος πλὴν ὅτι δικαιότερον ἦν ἐκείνους ὑμῶν ἀκολουθεῖν ἢ ὑμᾶς

26 ἐκείνοις· ὑμεῖς γὰρ ἐστε νῦν τὸ δὴ λεγόμενον πρῶρα καὶ πρύμνα τῆς Ἑλλάδος, βλέποι μὲν καὶ ἀφίοιεν καὶ τὰ τοιαῦτα τῶν ὀνομάτων ἐκ παλαιοῦ χρόνου ὑπὸ τῶν ποιητῶν καὶ τῶν θείων ὀνομαζόμενοι, ὅτε καὶ τῶν ἄλλων τισὶν ὑπῆρχε καὶ πλουτεῖν καὶ δυνασθαι· νῦν δ' ἀφ' οὗ πρωλέλοιπεν ὁ πλοῦτος Ὀρχομενόν τε καὶ Δελφοὺς ἐλεῖν μὲν ὑμῶν δύνανται διαφθεῖραι, ζῆλῳ δὲ οὐδὲ εἷς

27 Καὶ ταῦτα μὲν ὑπὲρ τῆς πόλεως, ἣν οὐ δεῖ παρὰ τοῖς Ἕλλησιν αἰσχύνην ὀφλεῖν, ὅταν τὸν ὑφ' ὑμῶν ἐκπεπτωκότα πάντες ἄσμενοι καταδέχωνται οὐ μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ καλῶσι καὶ διαπρεσβεύωνται καὶ τιμαῖς ταῖς τε ἄλλαις γεραίρωσι καὶ δὴ καὶ τῇ

[a] καθ' αὑτὸν Ρ: παρ' αὑτὸν
[b] οὐδὲν γὰρ ἐρῶ Wilamowitz.
[c] μηνῦσαι] μηνῦσαι Arnim.

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[1] No doubt a figurative allusion to Hadrian. See Introduction.

[2] The unknown informer against Favorinus.

[3] He seems to say that Corinth is aping Athens in the treatment of the statue. See Introduction.

presence of the Emperor himself and the laws? [illegible] that is very much as if one were to say of the orators that though permitted to speak in the courts in the stadium and in the presence of the Master of the [illegible] [illegible] the state.

However, I look freedom of speech to be a two-edged weapon, one edge in the [illegible] of the man who has knowledge of [illegible] the other in that of the Master of the Course. If the orator has given [illegible] to an accusation he [illegible] satisfaction from the accuser; [illegible] a man who has heard a part of it [illegible] which is personal [illegible] [illegible] But when you [illegible] of persons who [illegible] I shall say nothing of them by way of recrimination; rather it would have been more proper for them to [illegible] your mind than for you to [illegible] them. For you are now [illegible] being both poor and [illegible] of Hermes having been [illegible] poverty and wealth and the like by poets and [illegible] [illegible] days when some of the [illegible] had wealth and might; but now since wealth has deserted both Orchomenus and Delphi, though they may compare [illegible]

Now these remarks have been offered in the interest of the city, which must not suffer disgrace in the eyes of the Greeks, seeing that [illegible] men not merely [illegible] with delight but whom you have honoured, but even send for them and dispatch them on missions here and there and among other things

* [illegible] Pausanias [illegible] Hippocrates [illegible] Pausanias [illegible] Hippocrates [illegible] Hippocrates [illegible] Pausanias [illegible]

τῶν εἰκόνων ἀναθέσει· ὑπὲρ δὲ ἐμαυτοῦ καὶ τῆς εἰκόνος νυν ἐρῶ λογον, ὃν εἶπεν Ἀναξαγορας υἱὸν ἀποβεβληκως Ἥδειν θνητὸν γεγενηκως ἀλλ' οὐκ' ῥᾴων ὅτι τοιοῦτον τῶν γυν' ἀνδριάντων ἕκαστος ἀνατίθεται μὲν ὡς αἰωνιον ἰσομενος, φθειρεται δὲ ἄλλος κατ' ἄλλην εἱμαρμένην, κοινοτατην μεν και δικαιοτατην και πᾶσι πραγμασι
38 πρακειμένην τὴν τοῦ χρονου· ὁ δε ποιητης ἄλλως ἐκομπαζεν ὁ τοῦτο τὸ ἐπιγραμμα ποιησας, ὃ φασιν ἐπι τῷ Μίδα σηματι γεγραφθαι

χαλκῆ παρθενος εἰμί· Μίδα δ' ἐπι σήματι κεῖμαι
ἕστ' ἂν ὕδωρ τε ῥέῃ καὶ δενδρεα μακρα τεθηλῇ,
αὐτοῦ τῆδε μένουσα πολυκλαυτω ἐπι τύμβῳ
ἀγγελέω παριοῦσι Μίδας ὅτι τῆδε τεθαπται

39 ἀλλ', ὦ παρθένε αὐτάγγελε, τοί μὲν ποιητοῦ ἀκούομεν, σε δε ζητοῦντες οὐχ εὕρομεν οὐδε τὸ σῆμα το Μίδου· ὕδατα δε ἐκεῖνα καὶ δενδρα ἔτι μεν νάει τε καὶ θάλλει, χρόνῳ δε καὶ ταῦτα μετα τῶν ἄλλων ἔοικεν ἐπιλειψειν, οὐς Μίδας, ὡς παρθένος

ἀνδρὶ μὲν Ἱππαίμων ὄνομ' ἦν, ἵππῳ δὲ Πόδαργος,
καὶ κυνι Λιθάργος καὶ θεραποντι Βάβης

τίς οὖν' οἶδεν Ἑλλήνων οὐχ ὅτι τὸν ἵππον, ἀλλ' αὐτον τὸν Ἱππαίμονα, δοκῶ μεν' οὐδὲ Μαγνήτων, ὅθεν ἦν Ἱππαιμων· οὗτος μεν οὖν φρούδος ἐξ ἀνθρωπων αὐτῳ Βάβητι καὶ Ποδαργῳ

[1] οὐκ] οὖν Arnim.
[2] τοιοῦτον τῶν γυν Jacobs: τοιοῦτον τῶν M, τοῦτον τῶν UB.
[3] After οὖν Arnim deletes οὐκ.
[4] δοκῶ μὲν Reiske: δοκοῦμεν.

show him honour by actually erecting statues of him. On the other hand I shall now on my own behalf and in scheme of my statue use a phrase which Anaxagoras used when he had lost a son. "I knew I had begotten a mortal." [1] However, I did not know that my progeny was as mortal as that, for though each statue is erected as if it were to last for ever, yet they perish by this fate or by that, the most common and most fitting fate, and the one ordained for all things being the fate of time, and the one was. By boasting who composed this epitaph which they say has been inscribed on the funeral mound of Midas:

> A maid of bronze am I. I mark the grave
> Of Midas. While water flows and trees grow tall
> Here will I bide by the tear-shedding tomb and tell
> The passer-by that Midas lieth here.[2]

Well, my self-announcing maiden, we hear indeed the poet's words, but, though we sought, we found not thee nor yet the tomb of Midas. And though those waters still flow and those trees still thrive, in time even they are likely to vanish with the rest, like Midas, like maiden.

> Hippaemon the man was called. Podargus his horse,
> Lethargus his hound, and Babes his serving man.[3]

Well now, who of the Greek race knows, I won't say the horse, but Hippaemon himself? None, I fancy, even at Magnesia, whence Hippaemon came. He, then, has vanished from the sight of men, Babes, Podargus and all.

[1] Cf. Diogenes Laertius ii. 13.
[2] Quoted also [illegible] at [illegible] 364 B.
[3] Cf. Tarbet, Pap. 7, 204.

40 Ἕτεροι δὲ ἑστᾶσι καὶ γιγνώσκονται, τὴν δὲ ἐπιγραφὴν ἔχουσιν ἑτέρων, καὶ τὸ γιγνόμενόν ἐστιν οἷον ἐν τοῖς μέλεσιν ἀντισπαστον,[1] καὶ τρόπον τινὰ ἀντιδιδασκουσιν οἱ ποιηταί τρόπον μὲν Ἑλλήνων,[2] τύχας δὲ Ῥωμαίων. ἐθεασάμην καὶ τὸν Ἀλκιβιάδην τὸν καλὸν τὸν Κλεινίου, οὐκ οἶδ' ὅπου, πλὴν[3] ἐθεασάμην ἐν καλῷ τῆς Ἑλλάδος ἐπιγραφὴν ἔχοντα Χαλκοπώγωνος, ἕτερον δὲ περικεκομμένον τὼ χεῖρε, ὃς ἐλέγετο τῆς Πολυκλείους τέχνης εἶναι· ὅραμα δεινόν, ὦ Γῆ καὶ Ἥλιε, Ἀλκιβιάδης πε-
41 πηρωμένος οἶδα δ' ἐγὼ καὶ Ἁρμόδιον καὶ Ἀριστογείτονα δουλεύσαντας ἐν Πέρσαις, καὶ Δημητρίου τοῦ Φαληρέως πεντακοσίους ἀνδριάντας καὶ χιλίους ὑπὸ Ἀθηναίων μιᾷ καὶ τῇ αὐτῇ ἡμέρᾳ πάντας καθῃρημένους. ἐτόλμησαν δὲ καὶ Φιλίππου τοῦ βασιλέως ἐμίδας κατασκεδάσαι Ἀθηναῖοι μὲν οὖν τῆς εἰκόνος οὖρον κατέχεον, ἐκεῖνος δὲ τῆς πόλεως αἷμα καὶ τέφραν καὶ κονίαν καὶ γὰρ

[1] After ἀντίσπαστον Arnim deletes τὸ μὲν ἐπίγραμμα βαμβαίζει (and the following καὶ). Valesius would retain and add ὁ δ' ἀνδριὰς ἀλληλίζει
[2] After Ἑλλήνων Arnim adds ἔχουσι.
[3] πλὴν Geel πλησίον.

[1] This vicious practice of altering labels forms the theme of Or. 31
[2] The antispast, as the name implies, is a metrical foot which seems to tend in opposite directions (⏑ ⏑ ⏒).
[3] I.e., "a others" respectively of fame and of dedicatory inscription. The word ποιητής, though usually applied to "makers" of verse, was applicable also to makers of other things as well.

However the statues of other men still stand and are known, though they wear the label of others,[1] and what is going on is like an antipast[2] in poetry, and, as one might say, the authors[3] give counter information—Greek character, but Roman fortune. I have seen even Alcibiades, the handsome son of Clenias. I know not where, but I saw him in a commonplace site in Greece wearing the label Chaleopogon[4] and also another likeness of him with both arms lopped off, a likeness said to have been the work of Praxiteles—ye gods, a fearsome spectacle, Aesthetics a cripple. And I know that Harmodius and Aristogeiton have served as slaves in Persia[5] and that fifteen hundred statues of Demetrius of Phalerum have all been pulled down by the Athenians on one and the same day.[6] Aye, they have ever dared to empty chamber-pots on King Philip.[7] Yes, the Athenians poured urine on his statue—but he poured on their city blood and asses and dust.[8] In fact it was enough to arouse

[1] Chaleopogon is the Greek translation of Aleximachus (Strong and [illegible] by Nero in the [illegible] Scopas's work may have misdedicated to him the statue in question.

[2] [illegible] was a sculptor of the second century B.C. It is noteworthy that Alcibiades should have served as subject for sculpture at that late date.

[3] The statues of the famous Tyrannicides were carried to Persia in 480 B.C.

[4] Both Diogenes Laertius and Pliny the Elder give 900 as the number destroyed. Diogenes says they were not placed in fewer than 360 days. Only Pliny speaks of their destruction *quasi non laeserunt*.

[5] The incident is apocryphal.

[6] A most surprising statement, for contrary to the prediction of Demosthenes, Philip proved outstanding indulgent toward Athens.

ἢν νεμεσητὸν τὸν αὐτὸν ἄνδρα νῦν μὲν ἐν θεοῖς λέγειν, νῦν δ' οὐδ' ἐν ἀνθρώποις

42 Εἶτα ἐγὼ ταῦτα ἐπισταμένος ὅτι οἱ ἄνθρωποι οὐδὲ τῶν θεῶν φείδονται, ἀνόριαντος ὑμᾶς φρονεῖσθαι δοκῶ, καὶ τοὺς μὲν ἄλλους σιγήσειν μοι δοκῶ, ἄλλα τὸν Ἰσθμιον, τὸν ἀγωνοθέτην τὸν ὑμέτερον, Μόμμιος ἐκ βιβλίων ἀναστήσας ἀνέθηκε τῷ Διί, φεῦ τῆς ἀμαθίας, τὸν ἀδελφὸν ὡς ἀνάθημα, ἄνθρωπος ἀπαιδευτος καὶ μηδενὸς τῶν καλῶν πεπειραμένος ὃς Φίλιππον μὲν τὸν Ἀμυντου, ὃν ἐν Θεσπιαῖς ἔλαβεν, ἐπιγράψας Διὶ καὶ τοὺς ἐκ Φενεοῦ κατασκόπους τὸν μὲν Νέστορα, τὸν δὲ Πρίαμον· ὁ δὲ δῆμος ὁ τῶν Ῥωμαίων τοῦτ' ἐκεῖνο, αὐτοὺς ἐκείνους· ὅραν ἤξιουν, ὁρῶν Ἀρκάδας ἐκ Φενεοῦ

43 Ταῦτα μὲν οὖν ἔξεστι καὶ γελᾶν· ἀπουδῇ δὲ μοι ἐπελήλυθεν Ἀγησίλαον τὸν βασιλέα τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων τῆς γνώμης μακαρίσαι, ὅστις οὔποτε ἠξίωσεν οὔτε πλάσται οὔτε μιμηλὰς τοῦ σώματος ποιήσασθαι, οὐχ ὅτι χαλκὸς ἦν ὡς φασι, καὶ μικρός· τί γὰρ ἐκώλυε μέγαν εἶναι τὸν ἀνδριάντα, τί γὰρ ἀπεῖπον, ὥσπερ τὸν Ἐνφράνορος Ἥφαιστον· ἀλλὰ τοῦτ' ἐκεῖνος εἶδεν ἀκριβῶς, ὅτι μὴ δεῖ τὰς ἀνθρωπίνας τύχας ἐκτείνειν μηδὲ

[1] ἀμᾶς Reiske ἡμῶν. [2] ἐκείνων Reiske ἐκείνων.
[3] τοῦ ἐκείνου deleted by Arn. [4] αὐτοὺς ἐκείνους Arn. τοὺς αὐ ἐκείνους.
[5] πλάστοι οὔτε μιμηλὰ Kayser or πλάστοι οὔτε μιμήλαι.

[1] Ie. Poseidon. Mummius made Poseidon a votive offering to Zeus.
[2] Velleius (I. 13. 4) recounts that Mummius ordered that works of art lost en route to Rome must be replaced!

[illegible] religious [illegible] but they should love the same [illegible] among the gods and love [illegible] even among human beings.

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible] to [illegible] Roman [illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible] to [illegible] Nothing is known of the statues in question.

[illegible]

κινδυνεύειν περὶ τῷ σώματι κατὰ λίθον καὶ χαλκόν· εἴθε γὰρ εἴη[1] καὶ τοῦ σώματος ἀπηλλάχθαι.

44 Χαιρέτω δ' ὁ Δαίδαλος καὶ τὰ Δαιδάλου μιμηλὰ τεχνήματα· ἄδην Προμηθέως, ἄδην πηλοῦ· καίτοι καὶ τὸ σῶμα τῶν γενναίων φασὶν ἀλλότριον εἶναι,

ἐπεὶ μάλα πολλὰ μεταξὺ

σώματός τε καὶ ψυχῆς· ἡ μὲν γὰρ οὐ πάρεστιν[2] οὐδὲ φροντίζει τοῦ σώματος κάμνοντος[3]· ἐμνήσθη Καμβύσης ὡς[4] Ἄμασιν τὸν Αἰγυπτίων βασιλέα τὸν νεκρὸν αὐτοῦ κεντῶν τε καὶ μαστιγῶν· Αἰγύπτιοι μὲν γὰρ λέγουσιν Ἄμασιν ἐκ πλείονος ὑφορώμενον τὴν Καμβύσου χαλεπότητα τὸν μὲν αὐτοῦ[5] νεκρὸν ἀποκρύψαι, ἄλλον δ' ἀντ' αὐτοῦ ὑποβαλεῖν,

45 καὶ τοῦτον εἶναι τὸν Καμβύσῃ περιπεσόντα· ἀλλ', ὦ Αἰγύπτιοί τε καὶ Καμβύσου, εἴτε ἄλλος τις ἦν ὁ ταῦτα παθὼν εἴτε αὐτὸς Ἄμασις ἦν, τύπος ἦν ἄναιμος, ἄσαρκος, ἄψυχος· τοῦτον εἴ σοι φίλον, ἕλκε καὶ σπάρασσε καὶ κέντρου, Ἄμασιν δὲ οὐ κατείληφας. Ἕτερος δέ τις ζῶν, ἐμπνέων, αἰσθανόμενος, Πτίσσε, πτισσ', ἔφη τὸν Ἀναξάρχου θύλακον· Ἀναξάρχου γὰρ οὐ πτίσσεις· οὗτος γὰρ ἀνὴρ[6]

[1] εἴη Reiske: εἶναι.
[2] ἡ Seiden, δὲ Geel: δ.
[3] οὐ παρεστὶ Crosby, οὐκ ἔνεστ' Seiden, οὐκ ἐνοικεῖ Reiske: οὐκ ἔστιν.
[4] κάμνοντος Crosby: κάμνοντος.
[5] ὡς added by Seiden.
[6] αὐτοῦ Pierpont: κατοῦ.
[7] ἀνὴρ Emperius: ἀνήρ.

[1] Prometheus is said to have created the race of men out of clay. Cf. Pausanias 10. 4. 4 and Apollodorus, *Bibliotheca* 1. 46.

[2] Spoken by Achilles of the distance between Troy and his home (*Iliad* 1. 156).

body to the vicissitudes of stone or bronze. Would that it might be possible to take leave even of the body which we have.

But farewell to Daedalus and to the imitative devices of that artist; enough of Prometheus, enough of clay.[1] In fact it is said that even the body of noble souls is foreign substance,

for very many things do lie between[2]

body and soul; for the soul is not present when the body is outworn nor is it concerned for it.[3] Cambyses was mad when, as if it were Amasis, the king of the Egyptians, he stabbed and flogged his dead body.[4] To be sure, the Egyptians say that Amasis, having long viewed with distrust the cruelty of Cambyses, caused his own body to be hid away and another to be substituted for it, and that this was the corpse which fell in the way of Cambyses. However, O ye Egyptians and Cambyses too, no matter whether it was some one else who suffered this treatment or Amasis himself, at all events it was a form sans blood, sans flesh, sans soul. This, so please you, you may drag, you may rend, you may stab; yet the real Amasis you have failed to catch. Again, another man who was endowed with life and breath and feeling exclaimed, 'Grind, grind the sack of Anaxarchus; for the real Anaxarchus you do not grind!'[5] You see, this man,

[1] Dio compares this utterance with the words of Socrates (*Phaedo* 115 C and *Gorgias* 493 A).

[2] [illegible] (Herodotus 3. 16).

[3] According to Diogenes Laertius 9. 58 ff. Anaxarchus, a philosopher of Abdera (c. 350 B.C.), had offended Nicocreon, the satrap of Cyprus, who had him thrown into the mortar to be ground to death.

ἐμπεσὼν μὲν εἰς ὅλμον, τυπτόμενος δὲ τοῖς ὑπέρ-
ροις, αὐτὸς οὐκ ἔφη πτίσασθαι, ἀλλὰ τῶν αὐτοῦ[1]
ὅπερ ἔτυχε περικείμενος ὥσπερ φασὶ Περσῶν
τοὺς ὁμοτίμους λαμβάνειν πληγὰς, ἀντὶ τοῦ σώ-
ματος τὸν κάνδυν.

46 Πέρσαι μὲν οὖν ἐπὶ τοσούτῳ διωφοροῦσιν Ἕλ-
λην δ' ἀνὴρ παρεῖχε τυπτεῖν τὸ σῶμα ὡς κάνδυν[2]
ἡμεῖς δ' οὐ παρέχομεν[3] τὸν ἀνδριάντα χωνεύειν,
κἂν αἰσθάνηται, νυνὶ δ' ὁ μὲν κρείσσων αἰσθη-
σεως, ἐγὼ δὲ κατὰ τὴν[4] Εὐριπίδου Λαοδάμειαν

οὐκ ἂν προδοίην καίπερ ἄψυχον φίλον

βούλομαι οὖν αὐτὸν ὡς αἰσθανόμενον παραμυθη-
σασθαι· ὦ λόγων ἐμῶν σιγηλὸν εἴδωλον, οὐ φεύ-
γῃ, οὐδὲ γὰρ ὁ πρὸ σοῦ Ἀριστεὴς ὧδε γὰρ ἔσχε
κἀκεῖνος, ὡς ἐμοὶ εἰκάσθη,[5] ἀναστῆναι μὲν αὐτὸν
ὑπὸ τῶν Προκοννησίων, ἀφανισθῆναι δὲ ὑπὸ τῶν
ἐχθρῶν λόγον δ' ὑπὸ τῶν αὐτῶν τούτων διαδοθῆ-
ναι, ὡς οὔτε ζῶν οὔτε τεθνεὼς φαίνοιτο Ἀρι-
στέης· ἀλλὰ καὶ τότε καὶ νῦν καὶ πρὸς ἅπαντα τὸν
χρόνον ἔζη Ἀριστέης

47 μνάσεσθαι[6] τινά φαμι καὶ ὕστερον[7] ἀμμέων

[1] τῶν αὐτοῦ with M: τῶν αὐτοῦ B, τῶν αὐτοῦ U, τὸ αὐτοῦ Jacobs, τὸν ἀσκὸν Hirschig, τὸν αὐτοῦ φίλαυτον Reiske.
[2] ὥσπερ κάνδυν Dindorf: κὰν ὡς κάνδυν.
[3] παρεχωμεν U: παρεχωμεν V: παρέχομεν.
[4] κατὰ τὴν V: κατὰ τὴν.
[5] ὡς ἐμοὶ εἰκάσθη with M: δὲ ἐμοὶ εἰκάσθη U B, ὡς καὶ ἐμοὶ δὲ ἐμοὶ εἰκάσθη Dindorf: κὲ.
[6] μνασεσθαι Cobet: μνασεσθαι.
[7] ὕστερον Volger, ἄμμον Edmonds: ὕστερον.

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[1] Apparently the poets were spared the indignity of being

having been thrown into a mortar and being pounded by the pestles, declared that he himself was not being ground, but only that thing of his in which, as it chanced, he had been cuckoled—just as we are told that the peers of the realm in Persia are beaten—their cloak instead of their body.[1]

Well then, though Persians may resent so slight a chastisement, a Greek allowed his body to be pounded as if it were a cloak; and shall not I allow my statue to go to the mortar pot, even supposing it to have sensation? But as matters stand, while Anaxarchus was superior to sensation, I, in the language of Euripides' Laodamia,

Would not desert a friend, though void of life.[2]

Accordingly I wish to speak words of comfort to my friend, my statue, as to one possessing sensation. O thou mute semblance of my eloquence, art thou not visible? No more was Aristeas visible, who lived before thee. For he too had this experience, as I conjecture, the experience of being raised up by the men of Proconnesus[3] and then being spirited away by his foes, and of having a tale disseminated by these same men to the effect that Aristeas was not to be seen, either living or dead.[4] However, Aristeas was alive then, lives now, and will live always.

Some one, I ween, will yet remember me,[5]

stripped for flogging. The long-sleeved [illegible] is here [illegible] the body from [illegible]

[1] Spoken with reference to her husband. Cf. Nauck, *Trag. Graec. Frag.*, p. 565.

[2] So said of the Proconnesian birthplace of Aristeas.

[3] [illegible] to story of the repeated disappearance and reappearance of Aristeas, see Herodotus, [illegible]

[4] Cf. Edmonds, *Lyra Graeca*, I, p. 236, n. b.

πάνυ γὰρ καλῶς εἶπεν ἡ Σαπφώ καὶ παλὼ κάλλιον Ἡσίοδος·

φήμη δ' οὔτις πάμπαν ἀπόλλυται, ἥντινα λαοὶ
πολλοὶ φημίξωσι θεός νύ τίς ἐστι καὶ αὐτή

ἐγώ σε ἀναστήσω παρὰ τῇ θεῷ, ὅθεν οὐδείς σε μὴ καθέλῃ, οὐ σεισμός, οὐκ ἄνεμος, οὐ νιφετός, οὐκ ὄμβρος, οὐ φθόνος, οὐκ ἐχθρός, ἀλλὰ καὶ νῦν σε καταλαμβάνω ἑστηκότα λάθα[1] μὲν γὰρ ἤδη τινὰς καὶ ἑτέρους ἔσφηλε καὶ ἐψεύσατο, γνώμῃ δ' ἀνδρῶν ἀγαθῶν οὐδένα, ᾗ[2] κατ' ἄνδρα μοι ὀρθὸς ἑστηκας.

[1] λάθα with UB λάθρα M, βάθρα Weil.
[2] ᾗ Casaubon ᾗ U B.

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[1] *Works and Days* 763-764.
[2] The goddess Fama?
[3] Seemingly an echo of the famous tribute paid by Herodotus (8. 98) to the Persian courier service: τοὺς οὔτε νιφετός,

as Sappho very beautifully says; and far more beautifully Hesiod

> But fame is never utterly destroyed
> Which many people voice, a goddess she.[1]

I myself will raise thee up and place thee in the precinct of the goddess,[2] whence naught shall tear thee down: not earthquake or wind or snow or rain or jealousy or foe[3]; but lo! e'en now I find thee in thy station! Aye, ere now forgetfulness hath tripped and cheated sundry others too, but judgement plays no tricks on any man of worth,[4] and 'tis because of this that thou standest upright for me like a man.

οὐκ ὄμβρος, οὐ καῦμα, οὐ νὺξ ἔργα μὴ οὐ κατανικᾷ τὸν προκείμενον αὐτῷ δρόμον τῆς ταχύτητος.

[1] Rd. omits, *hoc est*, regards *λάθα μὲν* ... *οὔθέν* as a paraphrase of lines from the same poem of Sappho, a theory to which the form *λάθα* lends some colour. See Introduction for a possible interpretation of this highly imaginative peroration.

THE THIRTY-EIGHTH DISCOURSE TO THE NICOMEDIANS ON CONCORD WITH THE NICAEANS

[illegible]

the bishops of these two cities presented conterclaims to the right of ordaining bishops in Bithynia.

Dio does not provide a clue as to the precise date of our Discourse, but both his choice of theme and the spirit in which he deals with it indicate with some clearness that it belongs to his philosophic period. With what appears to be false modesty, he professes not to know why he, a native of Prusa some sixty miles distant, should have been honoured with citizenship in Nicomedia. Possibly it had been the first city of the province so to honour him. However that may be, in his address before the people of Apamea (Or. 40) he states in no uncertain terms that such marks of distinction had become for him a common experience: "wherever I have been, not only cities in general, but even, I may say, most of those which are of standing equal to your own, have presented me with citizenship, with membership in the Council, and with their highest honours without my asking or believing me to be not unserviceable to them or unworthy of being honoured." Although layman, Dio's long exile had fostered in him wider sympathies, and he seems to have been sincerely concerned for the welfare of Bithynia at large. It was only to be expected that the cities of the province should welcome the opportunity to enlist in their support a man with such an outlook, to profit by his wisdom, and to share by his reflected glory.

30 ΠΡΟΣ ΝΙΚΟΜΗΔΗΣ ΠΕΡΙ ΟΜΟΝΟΙΑΣ ΤΗΣ ΠΡΟΣ ΝΙΚΑΕΙΣ

1 Ὅταν ἐλογισωμαι τὰς αἰτίας, ἄνδρες Νικομηδεῖς, δι' ἃς ἐποιησασθε με πολιτην, οὐ γαρ πλουτον δοτε ἀφω μοι μενειν, ὡστε νομιζειν ὅτι δια χρήματα ἐποιησασθε ἐφ' ὑμων αὐτα προς τὸ θεραπευειν τους ὀχλους ἐκεινοις ἔχοντι ὁμωνυμῳ συνοικειν, οὐτοιν οὐδε εἰς τουτο μον χρηζειν δοκειτε, τὸ τοῖς ἁρμασι ὑμων ἁπασαις ὑπηρετειν ἑτοιμως εμε· ἀλλα μην οὐδε συμπωτιασε εμοι τις οὐδε κοινος ἐν ταις τοιαυταις συνουσιαις, ὡστε ἀπο γε τουτου παρεχειν τους πληθεσιν ἡδονην· εἰ δε μη διαμαρτανω μητε τῆς ὑμετερας περι εμαυτου προαιρεσεως, ὅσα τε ὑμιν δυναμαι χρησιμος εἶναι, ταυτα ἐπισταμαι, τὸ λοιπον ἐστιν, δι' ὃ πολιτης ἐγω γεγενημαι παρ' ὑμιν,[1] οὐδεν ἀλλο ἢ τὸ συμβουλευειν εμε τι περι τῶν κοινῆ συμφερον των ἰσως μαλλον ἑτερων και βουλεσθαι και δυνασθαι· τοῦτο δε εἰ μεν οὐκ ἐστι τοιουτον ὑμεῖς τε τῆς περι εμε σπουδῆς διημαρτετε· ἐγω τε ἔοικα μάτην ὑπακουσας ὑμιν ἐν ἐλπιδι τοῦ γενησεσθαι

[1] After ὑμιν Selden deletes συνοδος

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[1] [illegible] has been supplied by the translator in lieu of what presumably was an eloquent gesture on the part of the speaker

THE THIRTY-EIGHTH DISCOURSE TO THE NICOMEDIANS ON CONCORD WITH THE NICAEANS

Men of Nicomedia, when I undertake to compute the reasons why you gave me citizenship, I am at a loss; for I do not see that I have great wealth such as to warrant my being said that I have been sought after by you for mercenary reasons,[1] nor am I conscious of having an aptitude for flattering the masses, so you do not seem to want me even for the purpose of really serving your every whim. No, the fact is that I am not even good company at a banquet or a sociable person at gatherings of that sort, so as to be able at least to afford pleasure for the populace from that quality. However, if I do not wholly mistake your purpose regarding me, and also if I am cognizant of all the matters in which I am capable of serving you, the only thing left to account for my having been made a citizen by you is naught else than that, perhaps to a greater degree than others, I have both the desire and the ability to give advice on the interests of the commonwealth. If, however, if such is not the case, then not only have you been misguided in your interest in me but I too, it would appear, was rash in heeding your call in the hope of proving useful to your city in the

[1] Cf. § 8.

τῇ πόλει χρήσιμος, οὐ ποιουμένων μου χρείαν ὑμῶν εἰς ἣν μόνον ἐπιτηδειός εἰμι· εἰ δὲ πασαις μὲν ταις πόλεσι, μᾶλλον δὲ ταῖς μεγάλαις, δεῖ μεν καὶ τῶν πλουσίων, ἵνα καὶ χορηγῶσι καὶ φιλοτιμῶνται ταυτι τὰ νενομισμένα δαπανήματα, δεῖ δὲ καὶ καλῶν ἀνδρῶν, ἵνα δημαγωγοῦσιν αὐτοῖς ἥδωνται· δεῖ δὲ καὶ συμβούλων, ἵνα σώζωνται ταῖς πολιτείαις, κἀγω καθ' ὅσον μοι δυνατόν οὐκ ὀκνήσω περι τῶν μεγίστων συμβουλεύων ὠφελεῖν τὴν πόλιν.

3 Ἔστι μὲν οὖν καὶ ἄλλα τινὰ παρ' ὑμῖν ἐπανορθώσεως ἄξια καὶ κατὰ μέρος αὐτῶν ποιήσομαι τὴν θεραπείαν, ἂν τἀληθῆ λέγων πιστευθῶ περι τῶν μειζόνων· τί δὲ παθὼν ἢ τί βουλόμενος οὐχ ὑπερ τῶν μικροτέρων συμβουλεύω πρότερον, οὐδὲ ἐν ἐκείνοις ἀποπειρῶμαι τοῦ δήμου τῆς εὐπειθείας, ἀλλ' εὐθὺς ἀξιῶ κινδυνεύειν περὶ τοῦ μεγίστου συμβουλεύων πράγματος, ὅτι πολλῷ μοι δοκεῖ ῥᾷον εἶναι πεῖσαι περι τῶν μεγίστων ἢ τῶν μικροτέρων καὶ φαύλων· τῶν μεν γαρ ἔξεστι[3] καὶ καταφρονῆσαι τῆς ἀπ' αὐτῶν γιγνομένης βλάβης, ὁ δε χωρις ὢν ἀμηχανόν ἐστιν αὐτῷ σωζεσθαι, περὶ τουτων οὐκ ἐθελήσας πεισθῆναι δῆλος ἐστιν ὑπὲρ τῶν μικροτέρων οὐδὲ ἀκουσόμενος.

4 Ὅτι μὲν οὖν, ἐαν ὑπομείνητε τὴν συμβουλίαν, πεισθήσεσθέ μοι περὶ ὧν συμβουλεύων παρειμι, καὶ δὴ σφόδρα θαρρῶ· τί δαί, δυσκολον τοῦτ' ἔστι,

[3] ἔξεστι] ἔξεστιν ἀμελεῖν Arnim.

[1] Cf. Or. 34. 1

[illegible] since you are not making that use of me for which alone I am [illegible]. If on the other hand a [illegible] or rather the great cities need not any the much of wealth both to finance the [illegible] spectacles and [illegible] to provide such entertainments as [illegible] and [illegible] to afford pleasure for their [illegible] but [illegible] to provide safety for their persons. [illegible] from [illegible] the city to the [illegible] by giving [illegible] of greatest importance.

We [illegible] have [illegible] other things in view [illegible] and one after the [illegible] I [illegible] to them, provided I [illegible] speaking the truth about the greater matters. For from what strange reason, or with what purpose do I not first give advice about the greater matters and [illegible] the [illegible] of the people to be persuaded instead of [illegible] the [illegible] matters of [illegible]? It is because I [illegible] easier to persuade men concerning the weightiest matters than concerning those which are slighter or trivial. [illegible] the harm is coming from those who are [illegible] a man who [illegible] is [illegible] matters about which it is impossible for him to be [illegible] has refused to be persuaded regarding these things is clearly a man who will not even listen concerning the lesser matters.

So then, if you will endure my advice with patience I am indeed very confident you will be persuaded by me [illegible] matters about which I am [illegible] advise you. What then? It is a hard task to get you to

τὸ μὴτε φορτικὰ ἡμᾶς ἡγήσασθαι τῶν ἐφεστώτων
τῶν περὶ τοὺς πράγματος μήτε σφόδρα μήτε
ἔλαττον· ἵνα οὖν μοι μὴ ταῦτα προσκαιρίσῃ παρ'
ἡμῶν. Ἢ δὲ συμβουλεύοις σὺ περὶ ὧν ἡμεῖς τῶν
ἀρτίως ἐπεζητήσαμεν, Τί δὲ σιωπῶ λόγου
μεγάλου, οὗ σοι μὴ μετέδομεν ἡμεῖς, διὰ τί
δὲ τοσούτων πολλοστημορίων παρ' ἡμῶν δίδωμι
ἐπιγνώμων, ἐπιστήμων,' ῥητορικῶν, φιλοσόφων,
γεωμετρῶν πάνυ ἀκριβῶς οὐδεὶς ἀπολείπεσθαι ἡμῶν
5 συμβουλεύσοντα τοῦτο τὸν συμβουλεύσαι· αἴτιον
δὲ ὅτι πολλοστὸν τοῦτο αὐτὸ παρ' ἡμῶν ἀνὴρ
Ἑλληνικὴς καὶ γεωμετρικὸς μοι καὶ ὑπομνήματα,
ἀκούσας λόγου παρ' ἐμοῦ καὶ ἀκούσας καὶ μὴ πάνυ
ἀστεῖος ὢν· καὶ οὐδὲ μεγάλην εἶναι νομίζω τὴν
διαφορὰν εἰς τὸν παρόντα χρόνον, εἰ μὴ ἄρα ἀκούσας
τοῦ τὰ ἀμυνεῖ λόγου· εἰς ὃ τῶν ἀνθρώπων
τὸ πολύπονον τι τοῦτο ἀνεκάλεσε ἀστεῖ φίλῳ
λόγῳ μεγάλῳ ἀποδόμενον' μόνῳ εἶναι

Καὶ τί δὴ τοῦτο ἐστιν ὑπὲρ οὗ μέλλω μοι σὺν
βουλεύσαι ἀκούσας δὲ εἶπε ἄνω· τὰ μὲν ἄνω
ἀνὰ ἄνω, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, οὔτε τὰ τῆς
φύσεως οὔτε τὰ τῶν ἀνθρώπων οὔτε τὰ τῶν
φίλων οὔτε τὰ τῶν πολεμίων οὔτε τὰ τῶν ἀθάνατον
6 ἐστὶ γὰρ ἀμφοῖν ἄρα ἄρχομαι, καὶ μοι σὺν
μόνος· κοῦφα δὲ πράγματα· ἐν ὃ εἶπεν πρόσθεν
περὶ τῶν πρὸς τοὺς ἀμφοῖν· τοῦτο δέδοικα μὴ
τὸ μὲν ἀμφοῖν αὐτὸ αὐ' ἑαυτῷ κοῦφα εἶναι

[1] ἀπόφασις (ἀπό) ἐν ἀπόφασις M πάνυ ἀπόφασις L B.
[2] After [illegible] in M [illegible]
[3] [illegible] cf. Reader

[4] Dio makes an even more elaborate appeal for [illegible]

view my remarks upon the subject which I have in mind as neither tiresome nor superfluous nor untimely. In order therefore, that I may not at the outset encounter such objections on your part as

But why do you offer advice in matters about which, to begin with, we are not even deliberating?

But may he you accord yourself the [illegible] of the floor which we have not bestowed [illegible] you?

But for what reason, when so many has been active in [illegible] matters been and advanced matters and philosophers, [illegible] and young has no one ever presumed to give us this advice? [illegible] to furnish of such advice, I wish to make this very special request of you men of Nicanor [illegible] and do me the favour of being [illegible] that you listen to a speech which is superfluous and untimely and which may not convince you. Moreover I ask you remember it a great favour I am asking either. For if you are persuaded by my words it is worth your while to have [illegible] one who tells you what is to your advantage; whereas on the other hand, if you reserve your acquiescence, what is there unpleasant in having accorded a friend to take the floor who is willing to speak to no avail?

Very well, what is this subject on which I am about to offer advice, and yet am reluctant to name it? The worthy men of Nicanor, is not dissatisfied whether in the house or the city or [illegible] circles or cities or nations, for concord is what I am going to talk about a fine word and a fine thing, but if I proceed to add forthwith concord with whom, I fear not, while you may be convinced that concord

on the part of his audience in the exordium of Or. [illegible] also Or. 36, 1–6.

πιστεύσητε, τὸ δὲ πρὸς τούτοις ὁμονοεῖν τοῖς
ἀπόρροιτοις, οἷς ὁμονοεῖν φημι δεῖν ὑμᾶς ἀδύνατον
εἶναι νομίσητε· τοῦτο γὰρ ἐστιν, ὁ μέχρι νυν εἰς
τὴν ἔχθραν καθίστησιν ὑμᾶς τὴν πρὸς ἄλλους καὶ
οὐκ ἐᾷ γενέσθαι τὴν φιλίαν, τὸ πεπεῖσθαι δίχα
λόγου μὴ δύνασθαι εἶναι τὰς πόλεις τὴν ὁμόνοιαν·
μὴ θορυβήσητε δὲ ἀρχομένῳ πάλιν, ἀλλ' ὑπο-
μείνατε.

7 Φημὶ δεῖν ὑμᾶς ἄνδρες Νικομηδεῖς, ὁμονοῆσαι
πρὸς Νικαεῖς· ἀκούσατε δὲ καὶ μὴ χαλεπήνητε
μόνον, πρὶν ἂν εἴπω τὰς αἰτίας· οὐδὲ γὰρ ὁ
νοσῶν πρὸς τὸν ἰατρὸν ὀργίζεται διατάττοντα τὴν
θεραπείαν· ἀλλ' ἀκούει μὲν ἀπόρρητα αὐτοῦ λέγοντος,
ὅτι αὐτὸν καὶ τεμεῖσθαι δεῖ καὶ καυθῆναι πείθεται
δὲ ὅμως· πόρρω γὰρ σωτηρίας ὁ κίνδυνος ἐστι· καὶ
τί τοῦτο εἴπω, τὸ γὰρ ἄμον φάρμακον, ὁ προσφέρει ταῖς πόλεσιν, δῆλον ἐστι φίλτρον[1]
καὶ χωρὶς οὐ ἴδῃ οὐδένα ἂν ἐθέλησειν εὖ φρονεῖν·

8 Βούλομαι δὲ διαλεχθῆναι τὸν λόγον καὶ τὸ πρῶτον
ὑπὲρ αὐτῆς εἰπεῖν τῆς ὁμονοίας τῆς κυθόλου,
ποδαπόν τέ ἐστι καὶ τίνων αἴτιον, εἶτα[2] ἐξ ἐναντίας
τὴν στάσιν καὶ τὴν ἔχθραν διακρίνω[3] πρὸς τὴν
φιλίαν· ἔστω γὰρ ἀκόλουθον τοῦ τῆς ὁμονοίας
ἀπολειχθέντος ὠφέλιμον τοῖς ἀνθρώποις ἅπασιν
ἀπολείπω ταύτην τὴν ὁμόνοιαν τῶν πόλεων τούτων
καὶ ἀναγκαιοτάτην οὖσαν ὑμῖν καὶ λυσιτελεστάτην·
οὐκ ἀποστήσομαι δὲ εἰπεῖν οὐδ' ὅπως[4] ἂν μείζων
γενόμενη δύνατο· καὶ γὰρ τοῦτο ὁρῶ πολλοῖς ἐν-

[1] φάρμακον φαρμακόν Herwerden
[2] Arnim marks a lacuna, beginning of the next clause
[3] διακρίνω (corr.) διακρίνω
[4] τὸ Arnim deletes [5] ὅπως Emperius: οὐ mss.

of and by itself is fine, you may believe that being concordant with these persons with whom I claim you should be concordant is impossible. For what rift now has set you at your present enmity one toward another, and has prevented the establishment of friendship, is the unreasoning conviction that concord is impossible for your cities. Nay, don't rise an outcry when I make a fresh start but bear with me.

What I say, men of Nicomedia, is that you must achieve concord with the Nicaeans, but hear me out and don't get angry with before I state my reasons. For not even the sick man angry with his physician when he prescribes his remedies, but the sick man likes to hear him say he must submit to surgery or cauterization, obeys, for his life is at stake. And yet why have I said this? For my remedy, the one I offer your cities, is a most pleasant remedy, and one without which no man would wish to live, if he has good sense.

But I want to break up my address and first of all to speak about concord itself in general, to bring both whence it comes and what it achieves, and then once again out of that to set off strife and hatred in contradistinction to friendship. For when concord has been proved to be beneficial to all mankind, the proof will naturally follow that this particular concord between these particular cities is both quite indispensable for you and quite profitable as well. I shall not, however, refrain from telling also how concord may endure when once achieved, for that problem, indeed, I see is bothering many.[1] But I

[1] This aside is adhered to faithfully and shows that the speaker has prepared his address with care.

9 ὀχλοῦν. εὔχομαι δὲ τοῖς θεοῖς πᾶσι καὶ τοῖς ὑμετέροις καὶ τοῖς ἐκείνων, εἰ ταῦτα εἰνοίᾳ τῇ πρὸς μόνους ὑμᾶς ἐγὼ νῦν λέγω καὶ μηδεμίαν οἰκείαν θηρώμενος δόξαν ἢ λυσιτελεῖν δι' τῆς καταλλαγῆς τῆς ὑμετέρας, καὶ πρὸ πάντων εἰ μέλλει λυσιτελήσειν τῇ πόλει, δοῦναι μὲν ἐμοὶ τοὺς ἀξιοῦντ τοῦ πράγματος εἰπεῖν λόγους, παρασχεῖν δὲ ὑμᾶς ἐμοὶ πειθήναι τὰ συμφέροντα βουλομένους.

10 Ὁμόνοιαν τοίνυν πάντες μὲν ἐπῄνεσαν ἀεὶ καὶ λέγοντες καὶ γράφοντες καὶ μετὰ τῶν ἐγκωμίων αὐτῆς ἔστι καὶ τὰ ποιήματα καὶ τὰ τῶν φιλοσόφων συγγράμματα, καὶ ὅσοι τὰς ἱστορίας ἐξέδοσαν ἐπὶ παραδείγματι αὐτῶν τῶν ἔργων ἀπέδειξαν αὐτὴν μεγίστου οὖσαν τῶν ἀνθρωπείων ἀγαθῶν· καὶ πολλοὶ τολμήσαντες ἤδη τῶν σοφιστῶν παράδοξοι εἰπεῖν λόγοι μόνον τοῦτον οὐκ ἐπεκοπίασαν· ἐξενεγκεῖν ὡς οὐ καλὸν ἡ ὁμόνοια καὶ σωτηρίαν ἐστιν· ὥστε τοῖς τε νῦν βουλομένοις αὐτὴν ἐγκωμιάζειν καὶ τοῖς ἀεὶ τοῦτο ποιεῖν ἄφθονος ἡ τῶν λόγων ὕλη, καὶ ἀεὶ καὶ πλείω καὶ κρείττω περὶ αὐτῆς ἐρέσται λεγεῖν.

11 Εἴτε γὰρ ὑπὲρ γενέσεως αὐτῆς πολυπραγμονεῖν ἐθέλοι τις, ἀνάγοιτ' ἂν τὴν ἀρχὴν αὐτῆς· ἀναγκαῖον ἐπὶ τὰ μέγιστα τῶν θείων πραγμάτων· ἡ γὰρ αὐτὴ καὶ φιλία ἐστὶ καὶ καταλλαγὴ καὶ συγγένεια, καὶ ταῦτα πάντα περιλήψεται· καὶ τὰ στοιχεῖα δὲ τί

[1] μέλλει λυσιτελεῖν Emperius: μελλόντων λυσιτελεῖν.
[2] εἰπεῖν ἀξιοῦντ' Reiske: princeps: ἀξιοῦντ' ἐφεῖναι.
[3] ὥστε added by Crosby.
[4] τοῦ τοῦ ἀεὶ τοῦτο ποιεῖν deleted by Wilamowitz. Reiske inserta βουλομένοις affert dei.
[5] αὐτῆς, αὐτῆς Reiske.

pray to all the gods, both yours and theirs[1] that if what I now say is said because of goodwill to you alone and not in pursuit of any personal glory or advantage to be derived from your reconciliation, and above all if it is determined to be of advantage to the state—if this is true, I pray that the gods may not only grant me such eloquence as is worthy of my cause, but that they may also make you willing to take my advice in the matters which are to your advantage.

Well, then, concord has been needed by all men always in their speech and writing. Not only are the works of poets and philosophers clear proof of this to persons, but also all who have pursued the business of speaking or writing for practice and profit[2] have shown concord to be the greatest of human blessings, and furthermore, although many of the orators have in the past resorted to many paradoxical statements, this is the only one it has not occurred to them to publish, that concord is not a fine and salutary thing. Therefore not only for those who now desire to sing its praises, but also for those who at any time wish, the material for their use is abundant and it is never be possible to say more and better things about it.

For example, if a man should wish to delve into its origin, he must trace its very beginning to the greatest of divine things. For the same manifestation is both for mankind and for cities, states and kinship, and it embraces all these. Furthermore, what but

[1] Both cities worshipped, in general, the same deities. Cf. § 99.

[2] This practical aim is easily discernible in the work of many of the Greek historians, notably in Isocrates.

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

τὰ τούτοις ἀμότρονα, οὐδεν ἂν μέλλοντας ἀποκρίνασθαι[1] οὐδείς[2] ὅτι ταῦτα ἐν τοῖς κακοῖς τάττεται καὶ
14 οὕτως[3] ἔχει καὶ νενόμισται καὶ καλεῖται κακά· τὰ δ' ἐναντία τούτοις, εἰρήνη καὶ ὁμόνοια καὶ ὑγεία, καὶ ταῦτα οὐδεὶς ἂν[4] ἀντείποι μὴ οὐχὶ ἀγαθὰ καὶ εἶναι καὶ λέγεσθαι. φανερὰς δὲ οὕτως οὔσης τῆς μάχης τῶν κακῶν καὶ τῶν ἀγαθῶν, ὅμως εἰσί τινες, μᾶλλον δὲ πολλοί, οἵτινες τῶν κακῶν τοὺς ὁμολογουμένους χαίρουσιν· καὶ περὶ δὲ τῆς νόσου πάντες οἱ πλείστοι ἐπίστανται[5] ὅτι μὲν οὐδὲν[6] ἐστι σωτηρία, τὸ τοῖς πολλοῖς ὁμόνοιαν καὶ τὴν κυβερνήτην πείθεσθαι, γενομένης δὲ στάσεως ἐν αὐτῇ καὶ ἀπειθείας ἄδυνατα καὶ τὰ δεξιὰ πολλάκις τῶν πνευμάτων εἰς ἐναντίον τῇ νηῒ περιίστασθαι καὶ τῶν λιμένων ἀποτυγχάνουσιν ἐγγὺς ὄντων ὅμως ἀναστατοῦσιν ἔστιν ὅτε ὑπὸ ἀφροσύνης οἱ ναῦται[7] καὶ τούτου ἀπολλύουσι αὐτοὺς ἐπιστάμενοι τοῦ ὀλέθρου τὴν αἰτίαν.

15 Καὶ τῶν οἴκων δὲ τῆς σωτηρίας οὔσης ἔν τε τῇ τῶν δεσποτῶν ὁμοφροσύνῃ καὶ ἐν τῇ τῶν οἰκετῶν πειθαρχίᾳ, πολλοὺς ὅμως οἴκους ἀπώλεσεν ἡ τε δεσποτικὴ στάσις καὶ ἡ κακοδουλία· τῷ μὲν γὰρ ἅρματι ποτὲ καταλείπεται σωτηρία τῶν ἵππων συνθεῖν μὴ θελόντων, ἐπειδὰν γὰρ ἄρξωνται διαστάντες ἑφέλκειν ἄλλος ἀλλαχοῦ, πᾶσα ἀνάγκη κινδυνεύειν τὸν ἡνίοχον· ὁ δὲ γαμετὸς ὁ ἀγαθός τι ἄλλο ἐστὶν ἢ ὁμόνοια ἀνδρὸς πρὸς γυναῖκα, καὶ

[1] ἀποκρίνοιτο Geel: ἀποκρίνασθαι.
[2] οὐδείς] which Geel leaves.
[3] AD: οὕτως Hense adds ὡς.
[4] ἂν added by Reiske.
[5] ἐπίστανται Geel.
[6] οὐδὲν, which Arnim deletes.
[7] οἱ ναῦται, which Arnim deletes.

hesitate a moment to reply that these are classed among the evils, and that they not only are so but have been so considered and are named thus. And as for their opposites, peace and concord and friendship, no one would deny that they deserve what are called goods. But though the conflict between the evil things and the good is so manifest, yet there are some among us — or rather a good many — who delight in the things which are admittedly evil. And one, for example, a ship: though all on board are well aware that the one hope of reaching port in safety lies in having the sailors on good terms with one another and obedient to the captain, yet that when strife and mutiny arose on board, even the favourable winds often were unable to save the ship's crew, and they fail to make the harbour even when close at hand, with the sailors themselves for a time quarrelling and so work their own ruin though they know the cause of their destruction.

Again, one . . . households also, although their safety depends not only on the harmonious agreement of master and mistress but also on the obedience of the servants, yet both the bickering of master and mistress and the wickedness of the servants have wrecked many households. Why, what safety remains for the chorus if the members refuse to sing in unison? For when they begin to quarrel and oppose one another, then every one sees that the chorus is in danger. And the good marriage, what else is it save concord between man and wife? And the bad marriage, what

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[1] [illegible] entering the harbour. For a [illegible] Cf. Or. 34. 16.

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

is it save their discord? Moreover what benefit are children to parents when through folly they begin to rebel against them? And what is fraternity save concord of brothers? And what is friendship save concord among friends?

Besides all these things are not only good and noble but also very pleasant, whereas their opposites are not only evil but also unpleasant, and yet we often prefer them instead of the most pleasant goods. For example there have been times when people have chosen wars instead of peace, despite the great differences between the two, not under the delusion that fighting is better or more pleasant and more righteous than keeping the peace, but because some were striving for kingly power, some for liberty, some for territory they did not have, and some for control of the sea. And yet though the prizes awaiting the victor are so rich, many have laid war aside as an evil thing and not fit to be chosen by them in preference to the things of highest value. But the waging of war and fighting even without occasion, what is that but utter madness and a craving for evils which is occasioned by madness? Now the chief reason why we human beings hate wild beasts is that remorseless warfare exists between them and us for ever; yet many even of us treat human beings too as wild beasts and take pleasure in the conflict waged with those of our own kind.

What is more, we take no notice of the signs sent by the gods, all those signs and omens by which they try to teach us to live on good terms with one another

καὶ γὰρ κήρυκές τινες ἐκ τῶν θεῶν εἶναι λέγονται, καὶ διὰ τοῦτο καὶ παρ' ἡμῖν εἰρήνη μὲν ἐπικηρυττεται, πόλεμοι δε ὡς ἐπι τὸ πλεῖστον ἀκήρυκτοι γιγνονται καὶ γυμνοι προσβαλλουσιν εἰς ὡπλισμένους ὑπὲρ εἰρήνης καὶ ἀδικῆσαι οὐκ ἔξεστιν αὐτῶν οὐδένα, ὡς τῶν θεῶν ἅπαντας τοὺς ὑπὲρ φιλίας ἀγγέλους καὶ ὅταν συμπεσόντων εἰς μαχην στρατῶν ἢ διοσημεια φανῆ αἰφνιδιος ἢ τῆς γῆς γενηται σεισμός, ἀποστρέφονται εὐθυς οἱ ἄνθρωποι καὶ ἀποχωροῦσιν απ' ἀλλήλων, ὡς τῶν
19 θεῶν οὐ βουλομένων αὐτους μάχεσθαι πολεμου δὲ σημεῖον οὐδεν θεῖόν ἐστιν ὑπειλημμενον καὶ ὅσα δε ὀν ἡδιστά τε τοῖς ἀνθρώποις καὶ εὐδαιμονιας σύμβολα, ταῦτα παντα ποιοῦμεν, ἐπειδαν εἰρηνη γένηται, καὶ στεφανούμεθα καὶ θυομεν καὶ ἑορτάζομεν τὰ δὲ ἐναντια πάντα ἐν τοις πολέμοις, ὥσπερ ἐν τοῖς πενθεσι, καὶ συγκλειόμεθα ἔσω πυλῶν καὶ δεδοικαμεν πάντα καὶ ἀπελπιζομεν ἑαυτούς καὶ αἱ γυναῖκες τοτε ὑπὲρ τῶν ἀνδρῶν κλαιουσι καὶ οἱ παῖδες ὑπερ τῶν πατέρων ὡς ἐπὶ τοῖς μεγιστοις κακοῖς.

20 Ἐπειδαν μὲν οὖν λοιμος ἢ σεισμὸς γένηται, τοῖς θεοῖς ἐγκαλουμεν, ὡς κακῶν παρεχουσιν τοῖς ἀνθρωποις αἰτίας, καὶ οὔ φαμεν αὐτους εἶναι δικαίους οὐδὲ φιλανθρωπους, οὐδε ἂν τα μαλιστα ἡμῖν ἡμαρτηκόσιν ἐπιτιμωσι συν τῇ δικῃ τοσοῦτον μῖσος ἐστι πρὸς τὰ αὐτόματα τῶν κακῶν πολεμον δέ, ὅστις οὐχ ἥττον ἀπόλλυσιν ἢ σεισμος, αὐτοι προαιρούμεθα καὶ τοῖς αἰτιοις τουτων ἀνθρώποις οὐχ

Indeed they are said to be, as it were, heralds sent by the gods and for that reason among ourselves also whose peace is proclaimed by heralds, wars for the most part have [illegible] understood. Furthermore men go unarmed into an armed camp as citizens to use for peace and it is not permitted to wrong any of them, the belief being that [illegible] messengers on behalf of [illegible] are servants of the gods. Again, when [illegible] assemble together for battle, there suddenly appears an omen from heaven or there occurs a quaking of the earth, [illegible] the men where about and [illegible] one another, because the gods do not wish them to fight. [illegible] peace [illegible] herald a sign for war. And further, [illegible] when [illegible] is brought about we do not [illegible] things which are not [illegible] most pleasant for mankind but [illegible] of happiness, we [illegible] festivals with garlands, offer sacrifice and hold high festival, but we do quite the opposite in time of war, [illegible] in time of mourning, we shut ourselves within the gates and in dread of every thing we stand [illegible] to be just. Moreover at such times the women wail for the husbands and the children for their fathers, as they would over the greatest calamities.

Again whenever there comes a pestilence or an earthquake, we blame the gods, in the belief that they cause misery for mankind and we claim they are not righteous or benevolent, not even if they are punishing us justly for most grievous sins, so great is our hatred of those evils which occur through chance. Yet war, which is no less destructive than an earthquake, we claim of our own volition, and we do not blame at all the human beings who are

ἀνελοῦμεν οὐδὲν ὥσπερ ὑπὲρ ἀνίων τοῖς θεοῖς
ἀλλὰ τούτους εἶναι καὶ φιλοτίμους δοκοῦμεν καὶ
λιγόντων ἡδίστα ἀκούομεν αὐτῶν καὶ συμβουλευ-
ουσι πειθόμεθα, καὶ πλοῦν αὐτοῖς παρεχόμεν αὐτοὶ
τῶν κακῶν—ἐκεῖ ἀμείνω ἀμοιβὴν γὰρ εἰ ἴσον ἦν
ἐγίγνετο πρὸς αὐτοὺς κακῶν—ἀλλὰ χαρίτας καὶ
τιμὰς καὶ ἐπαινοῦντες ὅστε ὀφείλοιεν ἂν εἶναι ἀπόπτοι
τῶν ἐν τοῖς κακοῖς ἔτι χαίρειν εἰδότων φιλοδόξοις
21 Τὸ μὲν οὖν πρώτον ἀπόρως διεκείμεθα, τὰς
αἰτίας τῆς συμφορᾶς ἀγνοοῦντες· εἰ μὲν γὰρ τηλικαῦτά
ἐστιν, ὥστ' ἄξιον εἶναι πολέμου πολεμοῦντα οὐ συν-
τυχεῖν οἷον ἂν τοῖς ἄλλοις συνέβαινε καὶ παρεγένετο
εἶχε τὸ τυχὸν τῆς διαφορᾶς· ἀλλὰ μακρὰν καὶ
ἀφεστῶτα ὥστε αὐτὸν ἐν λειποσθαι καὶ τοῖς πᾶσι
καὶ τοῖς ἀγχοῦσι καὶ μηδέποτε σχεῖν ἀλκὴν κατ-
αλλαγῆ ἀνακτώμεθα καὶ ὑπομειώσωμεν καὶ πρᾶγ-
μα παρεχόμεν ἀλλ' ἀνὴρ ἀνὴρ ἔστι παρέχειν,
ἐφ' μόνοι διότι μὴ καὶ' πλοῦν δοκοῦμεν· εἰ δὲ
μέλλοιμεν οὐδὲν ἔστι τὸ δέον τοῦτο τοῦ κακοῦ
τὸ δὲ δοκοῦν εἶναι καὶ μόρα ἔστι καὶ φιλία καὶ
οἰκ ἰδιωτικὸν ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν στρατιώτου ἄξιον ἔστιν,
οὐχ ὅπως πολὺ τηλικαῦτα μὴ παρεχόμεν ὅμοιον
τι τοῖς ἐφόροις τῶν πολέων οἵτινες εἰδόμενοι μὴ
δοκεῖν μάτην ἀπιέναι τοὺς πατρίους ἢ τοὺς
μητρίους οἱ δεῖλοι οἱ κατελλαγεῖεν βλέπουσι
22 Ὑπὲρ μὲν οὖν γῆς ἢ θαλάττης οὐ δὴ μαχόμεθα,
ἀλλὰ θαλάττης μὲν οὐδὲ ἀντιποιοῦνται πρὸς ἡμᾶς
οἱ Ἕλληνες, ἀλλ' ἡδονῆς, ὥστε μηδόμεν παρεχεῖν

[1] ἡδὺν εἶναι Reiske, εἶναι ἡδὺν Emper.
[2] ἀν ἐν Emper. ἐν ἀν
[3] ἐν Emper. ἐν
[4] εἰ δὲ Emper. ἐν
[5] εἰ δὲ Emper. ἐν

responsible for these evils as we blame the gods for [illegible] or pestilence. Nay, we even think them patriotic and we listen to them with delight when they speak, we follow their advice, and in payment for the evils they occasion we give here every kind of [illegible]. I want no return for return would mean an [illegible] for evil, but rather thanks and honours and words of praise, and so they would be, even if we were indeed if they spared those who are even grateful for their evils.

First of all, then, men of Sicyonia, let us respect the reasons for your strife. How if the losses are so great that it is [illegible] a war that is no short one, such as could be waged by force of arms and have as its conclusion the speed of a decision, but instead a long war without [illegible] be handed on to our children and our children's children and never admitting the hope of settlement, then let us engage in the struggle, maintain the strife, and make a [illegible] the trouble [illegible] for one another, being vexed that our powers are not even greater. But if at best the prize for which the [illegible] is measured is a mere nothing and the supposed losses are both small and trifling and it is not being even for private persons to squabble over them, much less cities of such importance, then let us not be more at all like foolish children who, ashamed yet, they may seem to their fathers or their mothers to be enraged without a cause, do not wish to make it up with one another lightly.

Well now, surely we are not fighting for land or sea, or be our rivals, because to our even present countrymen, as against you for the sea, but they have gladly withdrawn from competition so as to

μάχην, διακέκριται καὶ μὴν οὐδὲ ὑπὲρ προσόδων ἀγωνιζόμεθα, ἀλλὰ ἑκάστοις ἀπόχρη τὰ οἰκεῖα καὶ ταῦτα δὲ τυγχάνει διωρισμένα, καὶ μήν γε καὶ τἆλλα πάντα, ὥσπερ ἂν εἰρήνη καὶ φιλία καὶ καρπῶν εἶναι ἀντιδοσις καὶ γάμων ἐπιμιξία καὶ ἀπ' αὐτῶν καὶ συγγενειαι πολλαι τινες ἤδη γεγενημέναι καὶ προξενιας δὲ ἔχομεν καὶ φιλιας ἰδιωτικας θεούς τε τοὺς αὐτοὺς νομίζετε καὶ τας ἑορτας πλείστας ὁμοίως ἄγετε καὶ μὴν οὐδὲ ὑπὲρ τῶν ἐθῶν ἐστιν ἡ ἔστιν ἡ ἡμῖν μάχη τούτων δὲ ἁπάντων οὐκ ἔχθρας παρεχόντων αἰτίαν, ἀλλὰ τοιούτων φιλίας καὶ ὁμονοιας, μαχόμεθα κἂν τις ὑμᾶς ἀπιστας ἔρηται, Τί δὲ ὑμᾶς οἱ Νικαεῖς ἀδικοῦσιν, οὐδὲν εἰπεῖν ἔχετε κἂν ἐπεκαλεσθη πυθηται πάλιν Τι δὲ οἱ Νικομηδεῖς ἀδικουσιν ὑμᾶς, οὐδὲ αὐτοι λέγειν ἔχουσιν οὐδὲ ἓν

Ἀλλὰ ἆθλον ἐστιν ἐν τῷ μέσῳ κειμενον, ὑπὲρ οὗ διαφερεσθε καὶ τί τοῦτο ἐστιν, ἃ μὲν γε καὶ ὀνομάσαι ἄξιον καὶ ὁμολογῆσαι καὶ περὶ ὧν ἂν καὶ συγγνοιη τις τοῖς ἀγωνιζομένοις, τουτων οὐδέν ἐστι, τὰ δὲ ὄντα οὐδὲ εἰπεῖν οὐδὲ ὁμολογῆσαι καλῶς ἔχει τοιαῦτά ἐστιν, οὕτω σμικρά, οὕτως τὰ τυχόντα, ἐφ' οἷς οἱ μὲν ἀνόητοι φιλοτιμηθεῖεν ἂν ἴσως, εὖ δὲ φρονῶν ἂν οὐδεις οἱ γὰρ παρακαλοῦντες ὑμᾶς ἐπὶ τὴν στάσιν (δι' ἃς δὲ αἰτιας οὐκ

[1] Βιβ δὲ Arnim.
[2] συγγνοιη Reiske συγγνωμη.
[3] οὐδὲν τοτε τὰ δὲ ὄντα Schorn : οὐδ' ἔστι, τὰ δέοντα BM, οὐδέστι τὰ δέοντα U.
[4] After ὁμολογῆσαι Emperius deletes ἐστ.

afford no cause for conflict. And what is more, we are not contending for [illegible] that each side is content with what is its own. Moreover these matters, as it happens, have been [illegible] – and [illegible] is a [illegible] besides [illegible] and friendship. Furthermore, there is [illegible] change of position [illegible] marriage. And in [illegible] there have come to be many [illegible] and we have [illegible] and they [illegible] to unite us. Besides, you worship the same gods as [illegible] and in most cases [illegible] as they [illegible]. In fact, you have no [illegible] as to your customs [illegible]. Though all these things afford no occasion for [illegible] rather [illegible] friendship and [illegible]. And if some one comes up and asks you, 'But how are the Syracusans wronging you?' you will have nothing to reply. And I, in turn, ask them in turn: 'But how are the men of Syracuse wronging you?' they too will not have a single [illegible] to say.

However, there is a prize at stake between you and one over which you are at odds. And what is this prize? It is none of those things which are fit to name or to acknowledge, and the competitors for which one might even [illegible] contemptuous elements. It is not [illegible] to name or acknowledge; they are of such a nature as petty [illegible] things upon which fools perhaps might prate themselves, but not any man of good sense. For those who summon you to the contest—but their motives it is perhaps not for me to scrutinize

[1] The Greek proverbs was roughly comparable to the modern cobbler.

ἡμῶν ἴσως ἐξελέγχειν) ἀλλ' οἱ γε χαίροντες αὐτῇ τοῦτο μόνον λαλοῦσιν Ὑπὲρ πρωτείων ἀγωνιζόμεθα τούτους οὖν αὐτοὺς ἐρήσομαι πάλιν ἐγώ Τινῶν πρωτείων, καὶ ποτέρων ἔργῳ καὶ πράγματι δοθησομένων ἢ περὶ ὀνόματος αὐτὸ μόνον ἐστὶν ὑμῖν ἡ μάχη;

Καὶ πρότερον γὰρ δήποτε ἀκούω τὸ αὐτὸ τοῦτο γενέσθαι στάσεως Ἑλληνικῆς αἴτιον, καὶ πολεμῆσαι περὶ τῶν πρωτείων τοὺς Ἀθηναίους καὶ τοὺς
25 Λακεδαιμονίους. καὶ διότι μὲν οὐδὲ ἑκόντες ἐλυσιτέλησαν ἡ στάσις καὶ ὁ πόλεμος, ἀλλὰ πρὸς ἀλλήλους ἀγωνιζόμενοι περὶ τῶν πρωτείων ἀπώλεσαν αὐτὰ ἀμφότεροι, καὶ ὑμεῖς ἅπαντες ἐκεῖνα ἴστε καὶ ἴσως κἀγὼ μικρὸν ὕστερον ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν ἐρῶ τι δέ, τοῦτο ὡς ὅμοιον ἐκείνῳ προβαλλόμενοι λέγουσιν, Ἀθηναῖοι περὶ τοῦ φόρου λαμβάνειν παρὰ τῶν νησιωτῶν ἐπολέμουν, καὶ περὶ τοῦ δικάζειν οἴκοι τὰς ἁπάντων δίκας κατὰ ἀλλήλων ἠγωνίζοντο, καὶ καθόλου περὶ βασιλείας ὁ πόλεμος ἦν ταῖς πόλεσιν ἐκείναις

26 Ἡμεῖς δὲ ἂν ἀπολάβωμεν τὸ πρωτεῖον ἀμαχεὶ παραδόντων αὐτὸ τῶν Νικαέων, ποτέρα ληψόμεθα τοὺς φόρους οὓς νῦν ἐκεῖνοι λαμβάνουσιν, ἢ τὰς πόλεις τὰς συντελούσας εἰς τὸ παρ' ἐκείνοις δικαστήριον ἐνταυθοῖ καλέσομεν, ἢ πέμψομεν αὐτοῖς ἁρμοστάς, ἢ δεκάτας τας[1] παρὰ τῶν Βιθυνῶν ἐκείνοις ἔλαττον παρέξομεν, ἢ τί ἔσται, καὶ τί

[1] τας added by Emper us.

[1] The rivalry between Athens and Sparta formed an apt text for Dio on other occasions. Cf. Or. 31. 49-51.

[2] Dio makes passing allusion to this struggle in § 38, but he fails to include reference to their loss of the leadership.

however that may be, those who delight in it [illegible] of naught but this. We are [illegible] for primacy. [illegible] I [illegible] to these same persons with the poet: "What primacy?" And is it a primacy to be actually and in fact conceded to you or to some [illegible] and nothing more?

Yet I hear that [illegible] the same thing has served as the cause of strife among the Greeks—that the Athenians and the Spartans went to war for the primacy. Moreover, that strife and warfare were not [illegible] in their case rather but [illegible] for the primacy they [illegible] and [illegible] more [illegible] What then? In pursuing the struggle of which do they speak of it as [illegible] to [illegible] the Athenians and the Spartans? The Athenians waged war that they might continue to [illegible] the leaders [illegible] and they appear to [illegible] the [illegible] of [illegible] and, broadly speaking, the war between those states was for no [illegible] cause.

But if we [illegible] the primacy, the Niceratus-[illegible] thing is "how a fight shall we receive the trophy they give us?" "Shall we surrender to them here the cities which now are subject to their jurisdiction?" "Shall we send them military governors?" "Shall we and the sea permit them to have the tithes from Bosporus?" Or what will be the

[1] The Athenian [illegible] not consist always of [illegible] but [illegible] was a common phrase to denote the member states.

[2] [illegible] to the [illegible] Sparta and not after the defeat of Athens to [illegible] of the Argives.

ἡμῖν γενήσεται πλέον, ἐγὼ γὰρ ὑπὲρ ἁπάντων νομίζω τοὺς ἀνθρώπους τῶν πραττομένων οὐχὶ μάτην οὐδ' εἰκῇ σπουδάζειν, ἀλλ' ἀεὶ γιγνεσθαι
27 τὸν ἀγῶνα ἀντί τινος· ὁ μὲν γὰρ πολεμῶν ἢ περὶ ἐλευθερίας ἀγωνίζεται, καταδουλουμένων αὐτὸν ἄλλων, ἢ περὶ ἀρχῆς, αὐτὸς ἑτέρους καταδουλούμενος. ὁ δὲ πλέων τὴν θαλατταν οὐκ ἄλην εἰκῇ[1] διατίθεται· κινδυνεύει γὰρ ἤτοι γε ὁδοῦ χάριν ἢ ἐμπορίας· ἵνα δὲ μὴ πάντα φέρω τὰ παραδείγματα, ἁπλῶς καὶ πράττομεν ἅπαντα οἱ ἄνθρωποι τέλους ἕνεκεν ἀγαθοῦ καὶ φεύγομεν τὰς ἐναντίας πράξεις τέλους ἕνεκεν κακοῦ· τὸ δὲ χωρὶς αἰτίας
28 σπουδάζειν ἢ πονεῖν, τοῦτ' ἔστιν ὃ τοῖς ἀνοήτοις προσήκει μόνοις· εἰ μὲν οὖν τις σπουδὴν ἔχοι καλεῖσθαι βασιλεὺς ἰδιώτης ὤν, καὶ τοῦτο ἄριστα ἐπιστάμενος αὐτὸς ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ, τοὐναντίον οὗτος ἢ ἢ[2] δοκεῖ γέλωτα ὀφλήσει, χρώμενος ὀνόματι ψευδεῖ δίχα πράγματος· καὶ ἐπὶ τῶν ἄλλων δὲ ὁμοίως ἁπάντων, κἂν αὐλητής τις ἐθέλῃ δοκεῖν, αὐλεῖν οὐκ ἐπιστάμενος, κἂν μουσικὸς οὐδὲν ὑπὲρ μουσικῆς εἰδώς, κἂν καθαριστὴς οὐδὲ ἅψασθαι τῆς λύρας ἐπιστημόνως δυνάμενος· τοὺς μὲν οὖν τοιούτους οὐδὲν κωλύσει καὶ μαινομένους δοκεῖν, ἡμεῖς δὲ οἰόμεθα, ἐὰν ἐπιγραφῶμέν που πρῶτοι, τὸ πρω-
29 τεῖον ἕξειν, ποῖον, ἄνδρες Νικομηδεῖς, πρωτεῖον;

[1] ἄλην εἰκῇ Gec. ἄλλη νίκη UM, ἄλλην νίκην B.
[2] ἢ ἢ Emperius, ἢ οἱ Sonny. ἤει M, ἢ ἢ UB, εἰ ἢ T.

[illegible]

καὶ γὰρ δεύτερον ὑμᾶς ἐρήσομαι καὶ τρίτον· οὔ τί
το δῆλος ἔστω, οὔ τί τὸ ἔργον, ἀφ' οὗ ποτερον
πλουσιώτεροι γενησόμεθα ἢ μείζονες ἢ δυνατώ-
τεροι, τὸ κενοδοξεῖν ἀνόητον μὲν εἶναι καὶ ἐπὶ
τῶν ἰδιωτῶν νενομίσται, καὶ μάλιστα τούτων κατα-
γελῶμεν καὶ διαπτύομεν αὐτοί· καὶ τελευτῶντες
ἐλεοῦμεν τοὺς οὐκ ἐπισταμένους τὴν διαφέρει δόξα
ψευδὴς ἀληθοῦς καὶ τῶν πεπαιδευμένων οὐδεὶς
οὕτως ἔχει πρὸς αὐτήν, ὡς ἐπιθυμεῖν ἀνοήτου[1]
πράγματος[2]·

Ταῖς δὲ πόλεσι φῇ τις κοινῇ προσήκειν ὅσα μηδὲ
τῶν ἰδιωτῶν τοῖς γενναίοις καὶ πεπαιδευμένοις,
20 καθόλου δ' εἴ τις ὑμᾶς ἔροιτο, Ἄνδρες Νικομηδεῖς,
τί βουλεσθε, ποτερον εἶναι πρῶτοι ταῖς ἀληθείαις ἢ
καλεῖσθαι μὴ ὄντες, ὁμολογήσαιτε ἂν δι' ποιθεν εἶ
καὶ πρῶτοι μᾶλλον ἐθέλειν ἢ καλεῖσθαι μάτην· οὐ
γὰρ τὰ ὀνόματα δυναμιν ἔχει τὴν τῶν πραγμάτων·
ὅσα δὲ ταῖς ἀληθείαις ἐστὶ τοιαῦτα, οὕτω καὶ ἐξ
21 ἀνάγκης ὀνομάζεται· πειράσθε τοίνυν πρωτεύειν
τῶν πολεων τὸ μὲν πρῶτον ἐκ τῆς ἐπιμελείας
τῆς περὶ αὐτάς· τοῦτο μὲν γάρ,[4] καθο μητρόπολίς
ἐστε,[5] εἰλαρετόν ἐστιν ἔργον ὑμέτερον· εἶτα τῷ
παρέχειν αὐτοὺς δικαίους ἅπασι καὶ μετρίους καὶ
μὴ πλεονεκτεῖν ἐν μηδενὶ μηδὲ βιάζεσθαι· ταῦτα
γὰρ ἐξ ἀνάγκης ἀπεχθείας κοινὰ καὶ διαφορας,
φύσει μὲν τῶν ἐλαττόνων πρὸς τοὺς μείζονας ὑπ-
ήκτων διακειμένων, ὡς ἐξ ἁπαντος πλεονεκτεῖσθαι

[1] ἀνόητου Capitan: αὐτοῦ, which Arnim deletes.
[2] αὐτοῦ ἀνοήτου Capitan von
[3] ὡς πράγματος deleted by Arnim
[4] γὰρ added by Emperius
[5] ἐστιν Reiske: ἔστω.

you a second time¹ and even a third time. A primacy whose utility is what? Whose function is what? One by reason of which we shall become wealthier or greater or more powerful? [illegible] Actually has come to be regarded as a [illegible] thing even in [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] and [illegible] are [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] all who do not know what is [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] as the [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] has such a feeling about [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] them.

[illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] these things [illegible] our [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] which [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] in [illegible] for the [illegible] of [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]. But [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] question [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] what [illegible] what be [illegible]. The first [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] first [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] that you prefer to be first [illegible] [illegible] second [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] have [illegible] the force of fact, whereas though [illegible] in very truth of a [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] been named. [illegible] therefore to [illegible] first place among our cities [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] for them [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] to your [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] showing yourselves fair and moderate toward all and by not being grasping in any matter [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] real [illegible] [illegible]. For greed and [illegible] [illegible] stir up hatreds and disagreements [illegible] [illegible] nature, that the weaker party [illegible] [illegible] disposed to look with [illegible] on the stronger, believing they are due to

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¹ [illegible]

² In [illegible] Greek the word [illegible] meant primarily [illegible].

μελλόντων, ὅταν δὲ καὶ ἔργῳ τοῦτο γίγνηται, δικαιότερον τῆς ἀπειχθείας παροξυνομένης

22 Ἔξεστι δὲ ὑμῖν εὐεργετεῖν τὰς πόλεις καὶ πλέον καὶ μείζον ἢ ἐκείνους· τὸ μὲν πρώτον καὶ μάλιστα διὰ τὴν θάλατταν, ἐξ ἧς ἁπάντων μὲν καὶ τῶν νῦν κομιζομένων μετέχουσι τὰ μὲν χάριτι[1]—δεῖ δὲ δημοσίᾳ χαρίζεσθαι τὴν πόλιν, οὐκ ἰδίᾳ τινάς[2]· τὰ δὲ καὶ διακλεπτόντες αὐτοί, τὰ δ' αἰτούμενοι παρ' ἕκαστα καὶ ἀντιλέγετε μὲν οὐδέποτε τοῖς αἰτήσασιν ὑμεῖς, αὐτὰ δὲ ὑμᾶς φορτικόν ἐστι τὸ τὴν τῆς αἰτήσεως ἀνάγκην ἔχειν· εἰ δὲ καὶ τούτων ἁπάντων μεταλαμβάνειν ἐπιτρέψετε τοῖς δήμοις τοῖς καθ' ἑκάστην ἡμέραν αἰτουμένοις τὸ πρὸς τὴν χρείαν ἐπεῖχον, πῶς οὐκ εἰκὸς ἐστι μείζονι ὑμᾶς ὄσεσθαι παρ' αὐτοῖς, εὐεργετοῦντας αὐτοὺς, καὶ ἅμα καὶ μεγάλην ποιήσετε τὴν ὁμόνοιαν διὰ πάντων ἐλευσομένην

23 Πειράσθε δὲ καὶ τοῖς ἡγεμόσιν αἰδῶ παρέχειν, ἵν' τοῦτο φανερὸν καθίστατε ὅτι μὴ ἀπόχρη ὑμῖν καλῶς διοικεῖσθαι μόνοις, ἀλλὰ πάντας ἐπιμελεῖσθε[4] τοῦ τῶν Βιθυνῶν γένους· καὶ οὐδὲν ἧττον δυσχεραίνετε τοῖς εἰς τοὺς ἄλλους ἀδικήμασιν ἢ τοῖς εἰς αὐτοὺς· κἂν τινες καταφύγωσιν ἐφ' ὑμᾶς δεόμενοι βοηθείας, προθύμως ἐπαρκεῖτε καὶ ὁμοίως· ταῦτα τὸ πρωτεῖον ὑμῖν παραδώσει τὸ ἀληθινόν, οὐχ ἡ περὶ τῶν ὀνομάτων πρὸς Νικαεῖς μάχη

24 Βουλοίμην δ' ἂν καὶ ἐκείνους τὰ αὐτὰ ποιεῖν, καὶ ποιήσουσιν ἴσως καταλλαγέντες, καὶ μείζων ἡ δύναμις

[1] μὲν ἀδικεῖ Dr Emperius
[2] μετέχουσι τὰ μὲν χαρ[illegible] Dindorf
[3] After τινας Wilamowitz [illegible]
[4] ἐπιμελεῖσθε Reiske ἐπιμελεῖσθαι [illegible] ἂν Arnim ἐν.

be overreached in every matter, and when that does [illegible] not pass, then naturally [illegible] their [illegible] aroused.

On the other hand, you have [illegible] power to benefit the cities more [illegible] and more effectively than the Nicaeans [illegible] because of the [illegible] of which [illegible] [illegible] great [illegible] and not [illegible] —partly also through those who are [illegible] [illegible] and [illegible] the [illegible] If [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] the [illegible] of [illegible] higher in the [illegible] the concord which we spread everywhere.

But you must also strive [illegible] the provincials [illegible] by [illegible] with [illegible] being [illegible] are concerned for the welfare of the whole [illegible] people and that you are [illegible] the [illegible] than the others that you are [illegible] those [illegible] upon [illegible] moreover that if any person [illegible] you and them [illegible] and [illegible] of concord is what we [illegible] that concord which is genuine and not [illegible] with Nicaeans [illegible]

And I should like the Nicaeans also to pursue the same course, and they will do so if you come to

ὑμῶν γενήσεται συντεθεῖσα· καὶ γὰρ τῶν πόλεων ὑμοῦ γενομένοι πασῶν ἄρξετε, καὶ τοῖς ἡγεμόσι γενήσονται πλείων διατροπὴ πρὸς ὑμᾶς καὶ φόβος, ἂν ἀδικεῖν θέλωσιν· τὸ δὲ νῦν ἔχον αἱ μὲν ἄλλαι πόλεις ὑπὸ τῆς ὑμετέρας στασεώς εἰσιν ἐπήρμεναι· χρείαν γὰρ αὐτῶν δοκεῖτε ἔχειν καὶ ταῖς ἀληθείαις ἔχετε διὰ τὸν πρὸς ἀλλήλους ἀγῶνα καὶ πάσχετε οἷόν τι πάσχουσιν ἐπειδὰν δύο ἐπιφανεῖς ὁμοίως ἄνδρες διαπολιτεύωνται πρὸς ἀλλήλους· ἐξ ἀνάγκης ἅπαντας θεραπεύουσι καὶ τοὺς πλείστον ὅσον ἀπο-
31 δεικνύντας αὐτῶν· ὥστε ἐν ᾧ περὶ τοῦ πρωτείου μάχεσθε ὑμεῖς, κινδυνεύει τὸ πρωτεῖον παρ' ἐκείνοις εἶναι τοῖς θεραπευομένοις ὑφ' ὑμῶν· οὐδὲ γὰρ ἔνεστιν οὐκ ἔχειν τοῦτο δοκεῖν τινας, ὃ παρ' αὐτῶν ἐκείνων ὑμεῖς λαμβάνειν ἀξιοῦτε· καὶ τὰς πόλεις οὖν πᾶσα ἀνάγκη γενήσεται τὴν τάξιν τὴν ἑαυτῶν ἀπολαβεῖν, καὶ ὥσπερ εἰκὸς ἐστι καὶ δίκαιον, ἐκείνας ὑμῶν χρῄζειν, οὐχ ὑμᾶς ἐκείνων· καὶ οὐχὶ παρὰ τοῦτο ἀξιώσουσι τυραννικῶς ὑμᾶς αὐτοῖς προσφέρεσθαι, πράως δὲ καὶ μετρίως, ὥσπερ ὑφηγησαμην μικρὸν ἔμπροσθεν, ἵνα μὴ φορτικὸν γένηται τὸ πρωτεῖον ὑμῶν· ἀλλὰ καὶ πρωτεῖον ἦ καὶ φιλῆται.

32 Τὰ δὲ τῶν ἡγεμόνων νῦν μὲν ὅπως ἔχει, τί δεῖ πρὸς ἐπισταμένους λέγειν, ἢ γὰρ οὐκ ἐπαισθανεσθε τῆς τυραννίδος, ἣν ἡ στάσις ἡ ὑμετέρα δίδωσι τοῖς ἄρχουσιν ὑμῶν, εὐθέως γὰρ ὁ βουλόμενος ἀδικῆσαι τὸ ἔθνος εἴδως ἥκει τι δεῖ ποιή-

1 ἡ Κορκυραῖοι ‖ UB. ‖ M

1 Cf. § 31.

terms with them and the power of each will become greater through union. For by joining forces you [illegible] the cities, and what is more, the provincial governors will feel greater [illegible] and fear with regard to you because they wish to [illegible] a wrong. But as things are now the other cities are [illegible] by the governors [illegible] you. For you seem to have need of their [illegible], and in fact you do have need of it because of your struggle with each other, and you are in the [illegible] of the [illegible] [illegible] first punished when they [illegible] [illegible] only they court the favour of [illegible] of [illegible] who are [illegible] as for [illegible] with them. And so while you are fighting for primacy, the [illegible] that the [illegible] in the hands of those who [illegible] you. For it is [illegible] that [illegible] should not be thought to possess [illegible] which you expect [illegible] to those who [illegible] possess. And [illegible] it is absolutely necessary that [illegible] proper [illegible] and right that they should stand in need of [illegible] of them. And [illegible] I shall [illegible] how to behave toward them, not [illegible] but with kindness and moderation. [illegible] as I suggested [illegible] which [illegible] to the end that your [illegible] not be [illegible] upon them but that it may be not only leadership but a welcome thing as well.

Again, what need is there to discuss the present attitude of your governors in the treatment of you who are [illegible]? [illegible] you are not aware of the [illegible] power your own strife offers those who govern you? For at once whoever wishes to mistreat your people comes armed with the know-

σαντα αὐτὸν μὴ δοῦναι δίκην· ἢ γὰρ τῇ Νικαέων ἑταιρείᾳ προστίθεται καὶ τὸ μέρος τὸ ἐκείνων ἔχει βοηθοῦν ἢ τοὺς Νικομηδεῖς ἑλόμενος ὑφ' ὑμῶν σώζεται· καὶ φιλεῖ μὲν οὐδετέρους, δοκεῖ δὲ τοὺς ἑτέρους φιλεῖν· ἀδικεῖ δὲ πάντας· ἀδικῶν δὲ σώζεται διὰ τοὺς μόνους οἰομένους ὑπ' αὐτοῦ φιλεῖ-
27 σθαι· κατεγνώκασι δὲ ὑμῶν δίκαιον δημόσια, καὶ χρῶνται καθάπερ τοῖς παιδίοις ὑμῶν, οἷς πολλάκις ἀντὶ τῶν μεγίστων προτείνεται τὰ μικρότατα· κἀκεῖνα διὰ τὴν ἄγνοιαν τῶν ὡς ἀληθῶς μεγάλων καὶ διὰ τὴν πρὸς τὰ ἐλάχιστα ἡδονὴν χαίρει τῷ μηδενί· καὶ ὑμῖν οὕτως ἀντὶ δικαιοσύνης, ἀντὶ τοῦ μὴ συλᾶσθαι τὰς πόλεις μηδὲ ἀφαιρεῖσθαι τοὺς ἀνθρώπους τῶν ἰδίων, ἀντὶ τοῦ μὴ ὑβρίζειν αὐτοὺς εἰς ὑμᾶς, ἀντὶ τοῦ μὴ παροινεῖν, προτείνουσιν ὀνόματα καὶ ἃ εἶπον ὑμᾶς πρώτους ἢ ἔγραψαν· εἰτά εἰσιν ἀκίνδυνοι τὸ λοιπὸν ὑμῖν ὡς ἐσχατοις χρώμενοι.

28 Τὰ γὰρ τοιαῦτα, ἐφ' οἷς μέγα φρονεῖτε, παρὰ πᾶσι μὲν τοῖς ὀρθῶς ὀνομάζουσι διαπτύεται, μάλιστα δὲ παρὰ τοῖς Ῥωμαίοις γέλωτα κινεῖ καὶ καλεῖται τὸ ἔτι ὑβριστικώτερον Ἑλληνικὰ ἁμαρτήματα· καὶ γὰρ ἔστιν ἁμαρτήματα, ἄνδρες Νικομηδεῖς, ἀληθῶς, ἀλλ' οὐχ Ἑλληνικά, εἰ μὴ κατ' αὐτό[3] τοῦτο Ἑλληνικὰ φήσει τις αὐτὰ εἶναι, καθ' ὅσον ἐκεῖνοι δοξῆς ἀντεποιησαντό ποτε καὶ Ἀθηναῖοι καὶ Λακεδαιμόνιοι· τὰ δὲ ἐκείνων εἶπον ἤδη

[3] κατ' αὐτό Reiske: καθ' αὐτό.

[1] i.e. the proconsuls of Bithynia, as becomes plain from the following sentence. Dio may have had in mind the case of Julius Hasius, proconsul in A.D. 98. However, no doubt others also were guilty of abuses.

ledge of what he must do to escape the penalty but rather how he may come [illegible] with the [illegible] party and has their group for his support, or else by following the party of [illegible] is protected by you. Moreover, while he has no fear for either side, he appears to [illegible] afraid [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] the [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] longer, the wrong be- [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] they [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] prefer [illegible] they [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] they [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] the [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] of things of greatest [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] ignorance of which [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] are [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] as a mere nothing [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible], instead of the [illegible] of the [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] possession of these [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] insulting [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] your governors [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] either by word or [illegible] in writing, that they may [illegible] with impunity treat you as being the very last.

[illegible] such marks of distinction on which you pride yourselves [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] of [illegible] contempt in the eyes of all persons of [illegible] [illegible] but especially in Rome they excite laughter and what is [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]. And [illegible] they are indeed marks of [illegible] though not [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] but [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] they are [illegible] [illegible] that those [illegible] of old both Athenians and Spartans once had contentions to glory. How-

σου καὶ πρότερον ὅτι μὴ κενόδοξα ἦν, ἀλλ' ὑπὲρ ἀρχῆς ἀληθοῦς ἀγών· εἰ μή τι νῦν δοκεῖτε αὐτοὺς ὑπὲρ τῆς προσωπείας καλῶς ἀγωνίζεσθαι, καθάπερ ἐν μυστηρίῳ τινὶ παίζοντας ὑπὲρ ἀλλοτρίου πράγματος

39 Ἂν δὲ τὸ μὲν τῆς μητροπόλεως ὑμῶν ὄνομα ἐξαίρετον ᾖ, τὰ δὲ τῶν πρωτείων κοινὸν ᾖ, τί κατὰ τοῦτο ἐλαττοῦσθε, ἐγὼ μὲν γὰρ τολμήσαιμι ἂν εἰπεῖν ὅτι κἂν πάντων κυρῆτε τῶν ὀνομάτων, οὐδενὸς ἐλασσοῦσθε πράγματος· ἢ τί δοκεῖτε παρὰ τοῦτο, τὴν θαλάτταν ἀναχωρήσειν ἀφ' ὑμῶν ἢ τὴν γῆν ὑμῖν δώσεσθαι μικροτέραν ἢ τὰς προσόδους ἐλάττους, ἤδη ποτὲ θεὰς μετελάβετε, μᾶλλον δὲ μόνον οὐχὶ καθ' ἑκάστην ἡμέραν θεᾶσθε καὶ τοὺς τραγῳδοὺς καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους, ὅσοι δοκοῦσι μὲν ἡδονῇ, ἕνεκεν καὶ τέρψεως εἰς τὰς σκηνὰς παρεῖναι, τοὺς δὲ αἰσθανομένους τῶν γιγνομένων ὠφελοῦσιν· ἆρ' οὖν ἐκεῖ τις ὑμῶν ἀληθῶς εἶναι δοκεῖ βασιλεὺς ἢ τύραννος ἢ θεός, καίτοι ταῦτα πάντα καλοῦνται καὶ Μενέλαοι καὶ Ἀγαμέμνονες, καὶ οὐκ ὀνόματα μόνον ἔχουσι θεῶν καὶ ἡρώων, ἀλλὰ καὶ πρόσωπα καὶ στολὰς, καὶ κελεύουσι πολλὰ, ὡς ἐκεῖνοι τοῦ δὲ ποιήματος συντελεσθέντος ἅπασι τὸ μηδὲν ὄντες ὀνομαζέσθαι[1] τις θέλει πρῶτος ἔστω· πρωτεύει τις, κἂν ἄλλος ὀνομάζηται, πρῶτός ἐστιν· αὐ γὰρ τὰ ὀνόματα πίστεις τῶν πραγμάτων εἰσί, τὰ δὲ πράγματα καὶ τῶν ὀνομάτων

41 Ἔτι τοίνυν κἀκεῖνο λογισάσθω τὸ ἐκ τῆς ὁμονοίας

[1] ὀνομάζεσθαι Emperius ὀνομάζεται.

[1] Cf. § 28. [2] I.e., the loss of titles.

ever. I may have said already that their doings were not mere [illegible] but a struggle for [illegible] empire, though nominally [illegible] that they were making a [illegible] struggle for the right to wear the [illegible] in some [illegible] putting up a [illegible] battle over [illegible]

But if what the [illegible] metropolis is your special prerogative, that of [illegible] is shared with others, what is your [illegible]? I would venture to assert that, even if you are a [illegible], you are being [illegible]. Oh what do you expect to be the consequence of that? That the [illegible] real from your shores or your territory be [illegible] your revenues [illegible]? Have you ever seen [illegible] at a play? More properly speaking, almost every day you behold not only tragic scenes but the other sort, the various actors who appear to come upon the scene to give pleasure and [illegible] but who [illegible] have what are [illegible] to be action of the play. Well, here does any one in the cast appear to you to be really king or prince or god? And yet they are called [illegible] as well as by the names Mercuries and Agamemnons and they have not only names of gods but [illegible] but their features and [illegible] and they [illegible] many orders, just as would the characters they represent; however, when the play is over, they take their departure as mere [illegible]. A person wishes to be dubbed first — very good. Some one ready is first and no matter if another wears the title first he is. For titles are not guarantees of facts but facts of titles.

Well, here is another outcome of concord for you

γενησόμενον· νῦν μὲν ἕκαστοι τοὺς ἑαυτῶν ἄνδρας ἔχετε· ἂν δὲ καταλλαγῆτε, τοὺς ἀλλήλων ἕξετε· καὶ τὰς φιλοτιμίας δεῖ γὰρ καὶ τούτων πόλει—διπλασίας τιθεσθαι· καὶ τὰς ὑπηρεσίας· λέγειν τις δεινός ἐστι παρ' ὑμῖν κἀκείνους ὠφεληθήσει· πλουσίους τις παρ' ἐκείνοις ἐστί· χορηγήσει καὶ παρ' ὑμῖν· καθόλου δὲ οὐδεὶς οὔτε ἀνάξιος ὢν τοῦ πρωτεύειν ἐν πόλει διὰ τοῦτο εὐδοκιμήσει παρ' ὑμῖν τῷ πρὸς ἐκείνους λέγειν ἢ παρ' ἐκείνοις τῷ πρὸς ὑμᾶς· οὔτε ἂν φαῦλος τις ὢν καὶ τοῦ δοῦναι δίκην ἄξιος εὑρεθῇ, διαδρασεται· τὴν τιμωρίαν ἀπαλλαγεὶς ἐν-
42 τεῦθεν ἐκεῖ, κἀκεῖθεν ἐνθάδε· τὸ δὲ νῦν ἔχον ὥσπερ ὑφορμεῖτε ἀλλήλαις αἱ πόλεις καὶ ἔστι τοῖς ἀδικήσασι τὴν ἑτέραν πρὸς τὴν ἑτέραν καταφυγή· τῆς δὲ ὁμονοίας γενομένης ἀναγκὴ καλοὺς εἶναι καὶ δικαίους ἄνδρας ἢ ἐκ τῆς Βιθυνίας ἀπαλλάττεσθαι· μεγα φρονεῖτε τῇ τοῦ πλήθους ὑπερβολῇ· πλείονες ἔσεσθε· γὴν[3] ἱκανὴν δοκεῖτε ἔχειν· πλείω τῆς ἱκανῆς ἕξετε· καθόλου πάντα μυχθέντα, καὶ καρποὶ καὶ χρήματα καὶ ἀνδρῶν ἀξίαι καὶ δυνάμεις, διπλασία τὰ παρ' ἀμφοτέροις γίγνεται[4]·

43 Οὐ δὲ πάντα ἕνεκεν οἱ ἄνθρωποι πράττουσιν, ἡ ἡδονή, κρείττων λόγου· τὸ γὰρ τὰ μὲν ὀδυνῶντα ὑμᾶς ἐξαιρεθῆναι, καὶ φθόνον καὶ φιλονικίαν καὶ τὴν ἐκ τούτων γιγνομένην στάσιν καὶ τὸ ἐπιβουλεύειν ἀλλήλοις ὑμᾶς καὶ τὸ τοῖς κακοῖς ἐφηδεσθαι τοῖς τῶν πλησίον καὶ τὸ ἐπὶ τοῖς ἀγαθοῖς ἄχθεσθαι,

[1] τίθεσθε Emperius · τίθεσθαι C B, τίθετε M
[2] διαδρασεται V · [illegible] · διαδίδοται M, διαδρασεν UB
[3] γῆν Casaubon · γην
[4] After γίγνεται Arn. to delete καὶ

to take into account. At present you two cities have each your own men, but if you come to terms you will achieve [illegible] and as [illegible] for a city needs [illegible] will then [illegible] as doubled, and [illegible] the services. [illegible] your city is gifted as a speaker [illegible] and [illegible] Nicocles. There is a rich man in Nicocles [illegible] expenses in your city [illegible]. And in [illegible] neither [illegible] who is [illegible] of first place to carry achieve fame with you by [illegible] in Nicocles, or with the Nicocles [illegible] in case a man is found [illegible] and [illegible] of punishment [illegible] by migrating from Nicocles to Nicocles or from Nicocles to Nicocles. [illegible] are now you two cities, as [illegible] are [illegible] for [illegible] but at your meetings and [illegible] who have [illegible] in one can find refuge with the other. [illegible] consent is achieved persons must be [illegible] of honour and [illegible] or can get out of Bithynia. You are proud of your [illegible] as [illegible] you will be still more [illegible]. You think you have authentic territory, [illegible] have more than sufficient. In fact, when all resources have been [illegible] money, offices, dignities for men, and military forces, the resources of both cities are doubled.

Furthermore, that which is the aim of all human action, pleasure, becomes greater than tongue can tell. For to achieve on the one hand, the cessation of the things which cause you pain, envy and rivalry and the strife which is their outcome, your [illegible] against one another, your gloating over the [illegible] fortunes of your neighbours, your vexation at their good fortune; and, on the other hand, the intro-

τὰ δὲ ἐναντία ἀντὶ τούτων εἰσελθεῖν εἰς τὰς πόλεις, κοινωνίαν ἀγαθῶν, ὁμοφροσύνην, ἐπὶ τοῖς[1] αὐτοῖς ἀμφοτέρων χαρᾶν, οὐχὶ ταῦτα πάντα ἑορτὴ ἔδοξε
44 δημοσία, λογισάσθαι δὲ οὕτως· εἴ τις ὑμῶν, ἄνδρες Νικομηδεῖς, θεῶν αἵρεσιν ἔδωκεν, εἰ βούλεσθε μὴ μόνον τὴν αἴτιον πολὺ ἔχειν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὴν Νικαέων, οὐκ ἂν παραδόξον μὲν ὑπὸ μεγέθους ἐφάνη ἀγαθὸν ὑμῖν εὔξασθαι δ' ἂν πᾶσας εὐχὰς ὥστε αὐτοῦ τυχεῖν, ἀλλὰ τοῦτο τυ[2] παραδόξου δοκοῦν ἤδη γενέσθαι καὶ τὴν Νικαέων ὑμέτερον
45 εἶναι καὶ τὰ παρ' ὑμῖν ἐκείνων· ἢ τῶν μὲν ἀδελφῶν θαυμάζομεν τοὺς εἰς ἅπαντα[3] κοινὸν οἰκοῦντας οἶκον καὶ μὴ νενεμημένους τὰ πατρῷα ὑπὸ μικρολογίας· ὅ τε πλοῦτος αὐτῶν ἔτι μᾶλλον θαυμάζεται, μείζων ὢν καὶ[4] κατ' αὐτὸ τοῦτο, τῷ μὴ νενεμῆσθαι μηδὲ ἑκάστῳ τὸ ἥμισυ γεγονέναι τῶν παντῶν, ἀλλὰ τὸ ὅλον ἀμφοτέρων δοκεῖν, ἔτι δὲ καὶ ὡς ἀγαθοὺς πάντες ἐκείνους ὁρῶσι καὶ ὡς δικαίους καὶ ὡς τοὺς ὅστις ἀδελφοὺς· ἐν δὲ ταῖς πόλεσι γενομένη αὕτη ἡ ἀδελφότης οὐχὶ καὶ μεῖζον ἀγαθὸν ἔσται καὶ κάλλιον[5] καὶ πλουσιώτερον,
46 Ἄξιον δὲ αὐτὴν γενέσθαι καὶ διὰ τοὺς προγόνους κοινοὺς ὄντας ἀμφοτέραις ταῖς πόλεσι καὶ διὰ τοὺς θεοὺς, ὧν καὶ παρ' ἐκείνοις καὶ παρ' ὑμῖν ὁμοίαι εἰσὶ τιμαί· τοῦτο γὰρ ἐστιν ἐφ' ᾧ καὶ μάλιστα ἐδυνήθειν τις ἂν ὅτι πάντα κοινὰ ἔχοντες, καὶ προγόνους καὶ θεοὺς καὶ ἔθη καὶ ἑορτὰς οἱ δὲ πολλοὶ καὶ συγγενείας ἰδιωτικὰς καὶ φιλίας, ὥσπερ Ἕλληνες πρὸς βαρβάρους μαχόμεθα, ἢ τὸ ἔτι τοῦ-

[1] ἐπὶ τοῖς Emperius: ἐπ'
[2] τυ added by Reiske
[3] ἅπαντα Emperius: ἅπαν τὸν V M, ἅπαντας τὸν B.

[illegible] your cities of their opposites, sharing in things which are good, [illegible] of heart and mind [illegible] of both sources in the same [illegible] does not in this resemble a public [illegible]. But [illegible] it this way. If some great [illegible] of Nicomedia had given you the [illegible] of his great [illegible] own [illegible] but some [illegible] of Nicomedia [illegible] that have [illegible] and would not have made [illegible] of views in the [illegible] of [illegible]. When this [illegible] which [illegible] Nicomedia [illegible] years. [illegible] we [illegible] with [illegible] a common [illegible] and have not [illegible] of [illegible] these patrimony [illegible] wealth [illegible] even more [illegible] it is greater for the very reason that [illegible] half of [illegible] made [illegible] of [illegible] but [illegible] the [illegible] and [illegible] and [illegible] brothers. Since this [illegible] part of brotherhood is achieved in your cities, [illegible] not be an even greater [illegible] more [illegible] and [illegible]

Moreover, it [illegible] to be achieved not alone because of the [illegible] which [illegible] have in common but also [illegible] of [illegible] gods, whose [illegible] are [illegible] both in [illegible] and [illegible] years. For there is a fact which might raise one's [illegible] greater [illegible] that though we have everything in common—ancestors, gods, customs, feelings, and, in the case of most of us, [illegible] ties of blood and friendship—[illegible] we fight like [illegible] against barbarians, or what

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[illegible]

του τῷ γιγνομένῳ[1] ὑφ' ὑμῶν ὁμοιότερον, ὥσπερ
47 ἄνθρωποι πρὸς θηρία οὐκ ὄψεσθε εἰς ἀλλήλους,
οὐκ ἀκούσεσθε ἀλλήλων, οὐκ ἀντιδεξιωσονται, τὴν
ἀρχὴν ποιησαμένων ὑμῶν, ἀλλήλας αἱ πόλεις,
οὐχὶ πάντα τὰ παρὰ ἀμφοτέροις ἀγαθα κτήσεσθε
καταλλαγέντες, οὐ χρήσεσθε αὐτοῖς θελοντες,
ὤφελον ἐξῆν καὶ τὸν Ἐφεσίων δῆμον ποιησασθαι
ἀδελφὸν ὑμῶν ὤφελον καὶ τὰ Σμυρναιων οἰκο-
48 δομήματα[2] κοινὰ ὑμῶν ἐγένετο ταῦτα δε πάντα τηλι-
καῦτα ὄντα ἀγαθὰ ἑνὸς ἕνεκα ὀνόματος ἀπόλλυτε,
ποίαν ὠφέλειαν, τίνα ἡδονήν,

Ἀλλ' ὅτι μὲν καὶ λυσιτελήσει ταῖς πόλεσιν ἡ
καταλλαγὴ γενομένη καὶ μέχρι νῦν ὑμῖν οὐκ
ἐλυσιτέλησεν ἡ στάσις οὖσα καὶ τὰ ἀγαθὰ τὰ ἐκ
τῆς ὁμονοίας γενησομενα καὶ τὰ κακὰ τὰ διὰ τὴν
49 ἔχθραν ὑπαρχοντα, προείρηταί μοι μετριως λοιπὸν
δὲ εἰπεῖν ὅτι καὶ μενεῖ ταῦτα διαλλαγέντων ὑμῶν
ἤδη γὰρ τινες εἰσιν οἱ καὶ τοῦτο δεδοικότες, ὧν
ἀποδέχομαι τοῦ φόβου τὴν αἰτίαν, εἴ γε λέγουσιν
αὐτὸ[3] ταις ἀληθειαις ἐπιθυμοῦντες τῆς ὁμονοίας καὶ
φοβούμεναι μὴ λυθῇ καὶ οὐ τοὐναντίον αὐτοῦ χαριν
τοῦ μηδὲ ὅλως αὐτὴν γενεσθαι τοῦτο προβάλλονται

Τὸ μὲν οὖν μέγιστον ὑμῖν καὶ τὸ πιστότατον
τοῦ μενεῖν[4] τὴν ὁμόνοιαν ἐνέχυρον ἔστω το συμφέ-
ρειν αὐτήν ἃ γὰρ καὶ λόγῳ παραδειχθέντα διότι
συνοίσει μόνον ἤδη πείθειν ὑμᾶς ἔοικε, πῶς οὐ χρὴ

[1] τὸ ἔτι τούτου τῷ γιγνομένῳ Pflugk : τὸ ἔτι τούτων γιγνομένων.
[2] οἰκοδομήματα] Emperius deleter.
[3] αὐτό Emperius : αὐτοῦ. [4] μενεῖν Arnim : μόνον.

is still more the year-conduct than that like human beings against [illegible] of hearts. [illegible] look each other in the face? [illegible] to each other? [illegible] your two cities not keep hands together [illegible] being the best to extend your hand? [illegible] by making peace secure for yourselves all the good things [illegible] possess. [illegible] and carry them [illegible]? Oh, that it were [illegible] make [illegible] the Ephesians [illegible] Oh, but the citizens of Smyrna [illegible] be [illegible] of you. But [illegible] these things [illegible] that they are [illegible] them [illegible] of [illegible] good [illegible] [illegible]?

However, that he [illegible] to predicate to you two cities which [illegible] and [illegible] the strife [illegible] going on has not been [illegible] for you down to the present moment, that so many blessings [illegible] are as a result [illegible] and that so many evils [illegible] are yours because of [illegible] the law has been treated by me as sufficient enough. But it remains for me to add that these blessings will be permanent when you have made peace with one another. For already there are some who have fears on this score, men whose reasons for fear I understand, at least if they give utterance to it from a genuine love for concord and a fear that concord may be destroyed, and if they are not concord, putting forth this idea for the very purpose of preventing any reconciliation at all.

But let the greatest and most trustworthy guarantee that your concord will be permanent be its expediency. For if the more recital of the reasons which show that it will be advantageous apparently is already convincing you, why should not

50 τὴν ἀπὸ τῶν ἔργων ἕξιν αὐτὰ πείθω βεβαιοτέραν, ἔτι δὲ εὔθυμος εἶμι καὶ διὰ τὸ τῆς συνηθείας ὑμᾶς δυσαπαλλάκτως ἔχειν· εἰ γὰρ ἡ στάσις τοσούτῳ χρόνῳ δια τὴν συνήθειαν μόνον ἐμμεμένηκεν ὑμῖν, τηλικοῦτον οὖσα κακόν, πῶς οὐχὶ καὶ τὰς διαλλαγὰς εἰκὸς ἐστιν ἡδίους τε οὔσας καὶ δικαιοτέρας ποιήσειν καὶ τὴν συνήθειαν πλείονα,[1] καὶ φυλάττεσθαι δὲ μικρὰ δεήσει καὶ πρὸ ἀπάντων τοὺς ἄνδρας τοὺς ἀδοξοῦντας, ἂν ποτε διαβάλλωσιν ὑμᾶς ἀλλήλοις· μὴ γὰρ ἀκούσητε αὐτῶν ἴδιον τι θηρωμένων, εἰ βουλήσονται πάλιν αὐτοῖς γενέσθαι τινὰ χάραν· καὶ μικρὸν δὲ ἕνεκεν μὴ παροξυνεσθαι

51 καὶ τοὺς θεοὺς δὲ εἰκὸς ἐστιν μᾶλλον πάντων ἐπιμελήσεσθαι τοῦ συμμεῖναι τὴν ὁμόνοιαν· οἶμαι γὰρ καὶ αὐτὴν ταύτην τὴν ἀρχὴν παρ' ἐκείνων γενέσθαι[2] καὶ οὐκ ἂν ἄλλως ἐπελθεῖν μοι τολμῆσαι περὶ τηλικούτου πράγματος ἐν ὑμῖν λέγειν, ὑπὲρ οὗ μηδεὶς πρότερον εἶπε μήτε νέος μήτε πρεσβύτερος· ἔστι δὲ καὶ ἄξιον αὐτοῖς εὔξασθαι πάλιν· οὐκοῦν ἐν ἀρχῇ μὲν εὐξάμην αὐτοῖς ἵνα μοι πειθομένους παράσχωσιν ὑμᾶς· ἐπεὶ δὲ τοῦτο ἤδη δοκεῖτε ποιεῖν, λοιπὸν ἐστιν εὔξασθαι περὶ τοῦ φυλάττειν αὐτοὺς εἰς ἀεὶ τὰ καλῶς δόξαντα ὑμῖν.

[1] τοσούτῳ χρόνῳ τοσούτον χρόνον Arnim.
[2] πλείονα ἀξιόνα Wilam. : πλέα.
[3] γενέσθαι Ed. pr. : γενήσεσθαι.

[1] Cf. § 4.
[2] Cf. § 9.

these reasons when supported by experience have a [illegible] more unshakable. But what is more, I am hopeful and [illegible] because of your being [illegible] to dissuade from accustomed habit. For instance, of strife, which is so great an evil has remained among you so long merely through force of habit, which it not [illegible] to expect that you [illegible] and more righteous [illegible] that habit are [illegible] to [illegible]. But you [illegible] need also to be [illegible] of [illegible] matters and above all to be watchful of the [illegible] of no reputation, because they [illegible] you [illegible] for you must not [illegible] to them when they [illegible] some [illegible] purpose [illegible] wish [illegible] to secure for themselves a [illegible] of [illegible] and you will need also to avoid becoming [illegible] for petty reasons. A further reason for my optimism is that [illegible] the gods who [illegible] [illegible] have [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] that even this being [illegible] [illegible] that otherwise it would not have occurred to me to [illegible] to speak in your presence on so great a topic, a topic on which no one [illegible], whether old or young, has ever spoken? And [illegible] fitting that I pray to them more [illegible] remember that in the beginning I prayed them to make you heed my words? But now that you evidently are doing this already, it remains for me to pray that they may preserve for ever your admirable resolutions.

THE THIRTY-NINTH DISCOURSE ON CONCORD IN NICAIA UPON THE CESSATION OF CIVIL STRIFE

As noted in the introduction to the preceding discourse [illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

Ancient tradition [illegible] regarding the founding of Nicaea. On the evidence of [illegible] matter of the [illegible] that he [illegible] that it was [illegible] and it Nicaea in honour of his wife, the daughter of Antipater

Stephanus of Byzantium calls it a colony of Bottiaea, which may be interpreted as referring its founding to veterans of Alexander's army. Whatever may have been the truth of the matter, at the time of our Discourse Nicaea could boast of a fair degree of antiquity.

39. ΠΕΡΙ ΟΜΟΝΟΙΑΣ ΕΝ ΝΙΚΑΙΑΙ ΠΕΠΑΥΜΕΝΗΣ ΤΗΣ ΣΤΑΣΕΩΣ

1 Ἐγὼ χαίρω τιμώμενος ὑφ' ὑμῶν, ὥσπερ εἰκός ἐστι χαίρειν τὸν ἄνδρα τὸν σώφρονα τιμώμενον ὑπὸ πόλεως ἀγαθῆς καὶ λόγου ἀξίας, ὥσπερ ἡ ὑμετέρα πόλις, κατά τε ἰσχὺν καὶ μέγεθος οὐδεμιᾶς ἡττωμένη τῶν ὁποίπστε ἐνδόξων γένους τε γενναιότητι καὶ πλήθους συνοικήσει, τῶν φανεροτάτων γενῶν οὐκ ἀλλαχόθεν ἄλλων συνελθόντων φαύλων καὶ ὀλίγων, ἀλλὰ Ἑλλήνων τε τῶν πρώτων καὶ Μακεδόνων· τὸ δὲ μέγιστον ἥρωάς τε καὶ θεοὺς οἰκιστὰς λαβοῦσα.

2 Πρέπει δὲ τοῖς ὑπὸ θεῶν ᾠκισμένοις εἰρήνη καὶ ὁμόνοια καὶ φιλία πρὸς αὐτοὺς· αἰσχρὸν γάρ, εἰ μὴ σφόδρα εὐδαίμονες ἔσονται καὶ θεοφιλεῖς[1] καὶ διοίσουσί τι τῶν ἄλλων εὐτυχίᾳ,[2] βουλόμενοί γε ἀληθὲς ἐπιδεικνύειν τὸ τοῦ γένους, ἀλλὰ μὴ ψευδῆ καὶ μάταιον λόγον· θεοὶ γὰρ οἰκισταὶ καὶ συγ-

[1] εὐδαίμονες· ἀδήμονες Reiske
[2] θεοφιλεῖς· θεοπεβεῖς G e
[3] εὐτυχίᾳ· εὐφυΐᾳ Cobet.

[1] The nature of the honour is unknown. Was it citizenship, as in the case of Nicomedia (Or. 38. 1)?
[2] Strictly speaking, only one "hero," Heracles, is named

THE THIRTY-NINTH DISCOURSE: ON CONCORD IN NICAEA UPON THE CESSATION OF CIVIL STRIFE

I am delighted at being honoured by you, as indeed it is to be expected that a man of sound judgement would be when honoured by a city which is noble and worthy of renown, as is the case with your city in regard to both power and grandeur, for it is the rule to no city of distinction anywhere, whether in nobility of lineage or in composition of population, consisting as it does, the most illustrious families, not in all groups of sorry specimens who came together from this place and from that, but the leaders among both Greeks and Macedonians, and what is most significant, having had as founders both heroes* and gods.

But it is fitting that those whose city was founded by gods should maintain peace and concord and friendship toward one another. For it is disgraceful if they do not prove to be extremely lucky and blessed of heaven and to some extent superior to the others in good fortune, desiring, as they must, to show birth to be something real and not merely a sham and empty term. For founders, kinsmen,

in connexion with Nicaea, and that so say by Dio in this speech, § 6. The phrase is used for rhetorical effect.

γονεῖς καὶ προπάτορες οὐδὲν οὕτως ἐθέλουσι τοὺς αὑτῶν ἔχειν, οὔτε χώρας πολλῆς οὔτε καρπῶν ἀφθονίαν οὔτε πλῆθος ἀνθρώπων, ὡς συμφρονοῦντας καὶ ἀρετῇ καὶ πολιτείᾳ νομίμῳ καὶ τῶν μὲν ἀγαθῶν πολιτῶν τιμῇ, τῶν δὲ κακῶν ἀτιμίᾳ· 3 ὡς ἔγωγε ἥδιστ' ἂν ὁρῴην ὑμᾶς ἓν μὲν σχῆμα ἔχοντας, μίαν δὲ φωνὴν ἀφιέντας, ταὐτὰ δὲ βουλομένους. ποῖον μὲν γὰρ θέαμα κάλλιον πόλεως ὁμοφρονούσης; ποῖον δὲ ἄκουσμα σεμνότερον; πόσα μὲν βουλεύεται πόλις ἄμεινον τῆς ἄλλα βουλομένης; πόσα δὲ συμφορώτερον πράττει τῆς ἕτερα πραττούσης; πόσα δὲ ἧττον ἀποτυγχάνει τῆς ταὐτὰ βουλομένης;[1] τοῖς μὲν ἄλλοις τἀγαθὰ τῶν ὁμονοούντων, τοῖς δὲ κουφότερα τὰ λυπηρὰ τῶν κοινῇ φερόντων, ὥσπερ βάρος, τοῖς δὲ σπανιώτερον συμβαίνει τὰ χρηστὰ τῶν ἀλλήλοις φιλονει- 4 κούντων. πόσῳ μὲν τοῖς πολίταις προσφιλεστέρα πόλις, πόσῳ δὲ τιμιωτέρα τοῖς ξένοις, πόσῳ δὲ χρησιμωτέρα τοῖς φίλοις, τοῖς δὲ ἐχθροῖς φοβερωτέρα; ὁ παρὰ τούτων μὲν ἔπαινος δοκεῖ πιστότερος, ὁ παρὰ τούτων δὲ ψόγος ἀληθέστερος·[2] τινὲς μὲν ἐντιμότεροι τοῖς κρατοῦσιν, τινὰς δὲ μᾶλλον οἱ κρατοῦντες αἰδοῦνται· τινὰς μὲν οὕτως ἀγαπῶσιν οἱ χρηστοὶ ἄρχοντες, τινῶν δὲ ἧττον καταφρονοῦσιν οἱ πονηροί. οὐ γὰρ δῆλον ὅτι τοὺς μὲν ὁμονοοῦντας οὐ μόνον οἱ κρατοῦντες ἀλλὰ καὶ οἱ θεοὶ προσέχουσιν, οἱ δὲ στασιάζοντες οὐδ' αὑτῶν ἀκούουσιν. οὔτε γὰρ τῶν ἀσυμφώνων χορῶν

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[1] [illegible]

[2] [illegible]

[3] [illegible] the [illegible] read τινὰς δὲ μᾶλλον οἱ κρατοῦντες αἰδοῦνται, which Emperius deleted.

[illegible]

[illegible]

as using a [illegible] which follows.

οὐδεὶς ἀπιόν βαδίως ὅ τι λέγουσιν οὔτε τῶν διαφερομένων πόλεων

8 Ποῖα δὲ οἰκοδομήματα, ποῖοι δὲ χῶροι, πόσον δὲ πλῆθος ἀνθρώπων ἰσχυρότερον δῆμον ἀποφαίνει τῆς τῶν αὐτῶν ὁμονοίας; ὅσοι γὰρ ἂν ὦσι πολῖται τῆς ὁμονοούσης πόλεως, τοσοῦτοι μὲν ὀφθαλμοὶ ὁρῶσι τὸ ἀκριβὲς συμφέρον, τοσαῦται δὲ ἀκοαὶ ἀκούουσι, τοσαῦται δὲ γλῶτται παραινοῦσι, τοσαῦται δὲ διανοιαι φροντίζουσιν· διαφέρουσι γὰρ οὐδὲν ἢ εἴ τις θεὸς οὕτως μεγάλης καὶ πολυανθρώπου πόλεως μίαν ψυχὴν ἐποίησεν· ὡς οὔτε χρημάτων πλῆθος οὔτε ἀνθρώπων οὔτε ἄλλη δύναμις ἰσοτιμίας τοῖς διαφερομένοις, ἀλλὰ τοὐναντίον πάντα ταῦτα πρὸς βλάβης μᾶλλον ἐστι καὶ ὅσῳ ἂν πλείονα ὑπάρχῃ, τοσούτῳ μείζονος καὶ χαλεπωτέρας ὥσπερ οἶμαι καὶ τῶν σωμάτων τὰ μὲν ὑγιαινόντα συμφέρει τὸ μέγεθος καὶ τὸ πλῆθος τῶν σαρκῶν, τῷ δὲ κακοῦντι καὶ φαύλως ἔχοντι σφαλερωτέρα ἐστὶν ἡ τοιαύτη ἕξις καὶ ἀξιοπαθεστέρους ἐπάγει

9 κινδύνους· ὁμοίως δὲ καὶ ναῦς ἥτις ἂν μετὰ ὁμονοίας πλεῖ τοῦ κυβερνήτου καὶ τῶν ναυτῶν, αὕτη τε σῴζεται καὶ σώζει τοὺς ἐμπλέοντας· εἰ δὲ μή, ὅσῳ πλείω τὰ ἱστία, τοσούτῳ σφαλερωτέρου τοῦ χειμῶνος καὶ τῆς ταραχῆς μείζω συμβαίνειν ἀνάγκη· τὸ αὐτὸ τοῦτο ἔνι· ἄρμητος ἂν μὲν ὁ θεῖος ἥνιοχος ἄρχειν ἐπιστῆται κατὰ τρόπον οἵ τε ἵπποι ὁμοφρονοῦντες καὶ πειθόμενοι ὦσιν, ἀλίπορος ἐστιν ἂν μὲν ἀγῶνα κατὰ· ἐν δὲ πολέμῳ σῴζεσθαι τὸ τοιού-

[1] Thus [illegible] and Ch. 36 2
[2] For a similar illustration, cf. Ch. 34 38.

[illegible] when churches do not keep together or when cities are at variance.

[illegible]

* The [illegible]

τον ἅρμα· στάσεως δὲ καὶ ταραχῆς ἐνούσης, τοσούτῳ μείζων ὁ κίνδυνος, ὅσῳ ἂν ἰσχυρότεροι ὦσιν
7 οἱ ἵπποι καὶ ταχύτεροι· παραπλήσιά σοι καὶ πολὺ ὁμοιοτάτη πάντα τὰ τοιαῦτα χρήματά ἐστι, περιουσία χρημάτων καὶ πλῆθος ἀνθρώπων καὶ τιμαὶ καὶ δυνάμεις· εἰ δὲ μή, δυσχρηστα καὶ χαλεπά, οἷον ἐν ταύτῳ τρεφομένων θηρίων πολλῶν ἢ βοσκημάτων, ἵνα εἴργοντος περιβόλου κυριεύοντόν τε ἀλλήλα καὶ πατούντων καὶ ἐκμιαίνοντων ἀλλήλοις.

Ἀλλ' εἰ μὲν ἱππικῶν ἐτύγχανον, οὐκ ἂν ἀνέστην τοῦ λόγου, πρὶν ἱκανῶς αὐτὸν διελθεῖν κατὰ τὴν ἐμαυτοῦ δύναμιν· νῦν δὲ ὑμῖν τε ἴσως πρὸς ἑτέρας μάλλον ἐστί[1] καὶ πολὺ καταδεεστέρου ἔχω ἢ
8 πρὸς τὸ μέγεθος τοῦ ἀγῶνος· τὸν οὖν βραχύτατον καὶ ἀνοιμωκτότατον λόγον καταλείψεται εἰπεῖν τῶν πρὸς τοὺς θεούς· οὗτοι γὰρ καὶ τῶν μικρῶν φθεγγομένων ἃ διανοοῦνται ἴσασιν· ἴσως γὰρ καὶ τοῦτο τοῦ σφόδρα εὐνοιοῦντός ἐστιν· ὥσπερ οἱ χρηστοὶ πατέρες τοῖς παισὶν ἃ μὲν δύνανται παρακούουσι, ἃ δ' ἂν μὴ πείθωσιν, εὔχονται τοῖς θεοῖς ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν· εὔχομαι δὴ τῷ τε Διονύσῳ τῷ προστάτῃ τῆσδε τῆς πόλεως καὶ Ἡρακλεῖ τῷ κτίσαντι τήνδε τὴν πόλιν καὶ Ἀθηνᾷ Πολιάδι καὶ Ἀφροδίτῃ Οὐρανίᾳ καὶ Ὁμονοίᾳ καὶ Νεμέσει καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις

[1] ἐπιφερόμενον Casaubon : ἐπιφερόμενον
[2] μάλλον ἐστὶ Casaubon : ἐστὶ μάλλον ἐστὶ L'B, μάλλον ἐστὶ M

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[1] Cf. Or. 38 [illegible] for the chariot illustration. The similarity of the [illegible] illustrations employed in this speech to those just cited as parallel may be ascribed to similarity of subject.

in a war emerge in safety, but on the other hand if [illegible] and [illegible] are present the danger increases in proportion to the strength and speed of the horses. In much the same way also when a city engages concerned [illegible] such things are [illegible] always dangers of [illegible] and power. For [illegible] they are hard [illegible] and [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] and [illegible] [illegible] and [illegible] upon [illegible]

When [illegible] I [illegible] with [illegible] I [illegible] have [illegible] my [illegible] discussing [illegible] but [illegible] upon other [illegible] I [illegible] far [illegible] to match the importance of the occasion. Therefore, as [illegible] remains for me to do is to make the best of and most effective use of [illegible] I mean the [illegible] the gods. For the gods know what men mean to say even when they [illegible] whisper. After [illegible] this [illegible] of [illegible] prospective [illegible] entertained for [illegible] goal failure [illegible] admonition with [illegible] when [illegible] but where permanent fame they pray the gods [illegible] their belief. According [illegible] I pray to Dionysus the patron of [illegible] to Heracles its founder, to Zeus Guardian of [illegible] to Athena to Aphrodite Protress of Friendship, to Harmony and Nemesis,* and [illegible]

* The list of [illegible] Nemesis is [illegible] [illegible] them only to such as might [illegible] to heed his prayer.

θεοῖς ἀπὸ τῆσδε τῆς ἡμέρας τῇδε τῇ πόλει πόθον ἑαυτῆς ἐμβαλεῖν· καὶ ἔρωτα καὶ μίαν γνώμην καὶ ταὐτὰ βούλεσθαι καὶ φρονεῖν, στάσιν δὲ καὶ ἔριδα καὶ φιλονικίαν ἐκβαλεῖν, ὡς ἂν ἐν ταῖς εὐδαιμονεστάταις καὶ ἀρίσταις ᾖ πόλεσι τὸ λοιπόν.

the other gods, that from this day forth they may implant in this city a yearning for itself, a passionate love, a singleness of purpose, a unity of wish and thought, and, on the other hand, that they may cast out strife and contentiousness and jealousy, so that this city may be numbered among the most prosperous and the noblest for all time to come.

THE FORTIETH DISCOURSE DELIVERED IN HIS NATIVE CITY ON CONCORD WITH THE APAMEIANS

As indicated by the title [illegible] red with citizenship [illegible] [illegible] household have found a refuge in that city during his exil

Whatever the nature of the [illegible] had acted for some [illegible] of Apamea [illegible] by [illegible] of Apamea, a fugitive [illegible] of the conclusion with Apamea, and negotiations to that end were

actually in progress when Dio, responding with some reluctance to the admonitions of his fellow townsmen, appeared in town-meeting and pleaded afresh the cause of concord. It would appear that his words received a favourable hearing, for in the next Discourse in our collection, delivered at Apamea shortly afterwards, he speaks as a member of an official delegation to arrange terms of agreement.

This Discourse, as well as several to follow, is valuable both as shedding light upon doings in Bithynia, doings about which we get supplementary information from the correspondence of Pliny the Younger written during his term as proconsul of that province, and also as supplying biographical data regarding the speaker.

40. ΕΝ ΤΗΙ ΠΑΤΡΙΔΙ ΠΕΡΙ ΤΗΣ ΠΡΟΣ ΑΠΑΜΕΙΣ ΟΜΟΝΟΙΑΣ

1 Ἐνόμιζον μέν, ὦ ἄνδρες πολῖται, νῦν γοῦν, εἰ καὶ μὴ πρότερον, ἄξειν τὴν ἅπασαν ἡσυχίαν, δεῦρο ἀφικόμενος, καὶ μὴ προσάψεσθαι[1] μήτε ἑκὼν μήτε ἄκων μηδενὸς καινοῦ πράγματος, δι' ἓν μὲν ὅτι καὶ πολλοὺς ὁρῶ σὺν τοῖς θεοῖς ἀεὶ τῶν πρεσβυτέρων καὶ τῶν νεωτέρων βουλομένους καὶ δυναμένους ἐπιτροπεύειν τὴν πόλιν καὶ προΐστασθαι τῶν ὑμετέρων ὀρθῶς οὔτε τοῦ λέγειν οὔτε τοῦ πράττειν ἐνδεῶς ἔχοντας, ἔτι δὲ τῆς παρ' ὑμῶν πολιτείας ἐμπείρους ὄντας, ἐμὲ δὲ ὑπώπτευον—τὸ γὰρ ἀληθὲς εἰρήσεται—βαρύνεσθαί τινας ὡς ξένον καὶ
2 περιττόν· ἔπειτα, οἶμαι, καὶ τοῦ σώματος δέον ποιήσασθαί τινα πρόνοιαν, ἐκ πολλῆς καὶ συνεχοῦς ταλαιπωρίας ἀπειρηκότος, καὶ τῶν περὶ τὴν οἰκίαν, κομδῇ φαύλως διακειμένων, ἃ τοσοῦτον ἀπολωλότα χρόνον οὐδεμιᾶς ἐπανορθώσεως τετύχηκεν

[1] προσάψεσθαι Emperius : προσάψασθαι.

[1] He had recently returned from Rome. Prior to that visit, ever since his return from exile in 96, he had been occupied with public business, notably the building operations to which he refers in his opening paragraphs, with which cf. Or. 45.

THE FORTIETH DISCOURSE DELIVERED IN HIS NATIVE CITY ON CONCORD WITH THE APAMEIANS

I used to think, fellow citizens, that now at last, if not before, now that I am home again—I could look forward to enjoying complete leisure, and that I was not going to engage in any public business, either voluntarily or otherwise.* The reason was because I see that many older men, by the grace of God, and many younger men as well, are ever ready and able to direct the city and to defend your interests rightly, being deficient in neither speech nor action; and what is more, being thoroughly acquainted with your form of government, which, on the other hand, I suspected, for the truth will out—that some were vexed with me as being an outsider and a nuisance.* A second reason is that, in my opinion, I should take some thought, not only for my body, exhausted as it is from great and unremitting hardship, but also for my domestic affairs, now in thoroughly bad condition, affairs which, though so long in ruinous state, have met with no improve-

* His long exile made him seem to some to be an outsider, and his energetic efforts to improve Prusa were accordingly resented.

ὅπου γὰρ ἀποδημία δεσπότου χρονίσαντος ἱκανὴ διαφθεῖραι καὶ τὴν μεγίστην οὐσίαν, τί χρὴ προσδοκᾶν ἐν τοσούτοις ἔτεσι φυγῆς, ὅθεν οὐδεὶς ἂν προσεδόκησεν ἐμὲ σωθῆναι χωρὶς ὑμῶν, δι' εὐνοίας ὑπερβολήν καίτοι μαχροῦ μὲν ὑπῆρχε πενίας κινδυνος ἡμῖν, οὐδὲν ἦν δεινόν. οὐ γὰρ εἰμι πρὸς τοῦτο ἀμελέστατος σχεδόν, τοσοῦτον χρόνον πλανηθεὶς οὐ μόνον ἄοικος καὶ ἀνέστιος, ἀλλὰ μηδὲ ἀκόλουθον ἕνα γοῦν ἐπαγόμενος οὐ τοιγαρ οὐδὲ τὸν υἱὸν ἤλπιζον χαλεπῶς ἂν ὑπομεῖναι πενίαν, αὐκ ὄντα ἐμοῦ χειρὶ τὴν φύσιν

3 Ἐπεὶ δὲ ὁ λόγος ἡμῖν ἐστιν ὑπὲρ τοῦ μὴ ψεύσασθαι τὴν πατρίδα μηδὲ ἀποστερῆσαι τὴν ὑποσχεσιν ὑμᾶς ἣν ὑπεσχόμεθα μηδενὸς ἀναγκάζοντος, οὐδαμῶς βαδιαν οὐδὲ ἀλίγων χρημάτων, τοῦτο οἶμαι χαλεπον καὶ πολλῆς φροντίδος ἄξιον· οὐ γὰρ' οὐδέν ἐστι βαρυτερον οὐδὲ ὀφειλομενον ἐπὶ πλείονι τόκῳ χάριτος[1] καὶ τοῦτό ἐστι τὸ ἀναίσχυντον δανειον καὶ πικρόν, ὅταν, οἶμαι, τῷ βραδυνειν ἡ χάρις εἰς χρέος μεταστῇ· ὁ τῷ παντὶ χαλεπωτερον ἀπαιτοῦ-
4 σιν οἱ σιωπῶντες τῶν βοώντων· οὐδὲν γὰρ οὕτω δύναται τους ὀφείλοντας ὑμῖν τὰ τοιαῦτα ὑπομιμνήσκειν, ὡς τὸ ὑμᾶς ἐκκλήσθαι· διὰ μὲν δὴ ταῦτα ἀναγκαῖον ἐνομιζον γενέσθαι πρὸς τοῖς ἐμαυτοῦ καὶ μηδενὶ τῶν κοινῶν προσιέναι μηδὲ μέχρι λόγου

[2] οὐ γὰρ with M: οὔ γε.

[3] χάριτος] deleted by Von der Mühll, reading οὔ γε supra

[1] He had subscribed toward the embellishment of Prusa.

ment. For when a proprietor's absence from home, if protracted, suffices to ruin even the greatest estate, what should one expect in the case of so many years of exile? I am such an exile as no one could have expected [illegible] home safe, except [illegible] of your [illegible] for me. And yet as regards my poverty [illegible] com-forting me that was nothing to be afraid of. But I am not unprepared, I may say, [illegible] having wandered so long [illegible] without hearth and home [illegible] my difficulty. Furthermore, I do not expect my son to find poverty [illegible]

[illegible] before my [illegible] and [illegible] in comparison [illegible] good and [illegible] of money [illegible] to be a [illegible] matter and [illegible] much [illegible]. For there is nothing more [illegible] than a [illegible]. [illegible] the elements and [illegible] because of early payment the former [illegible] dangerous, [illegible] the settlement of which [illegible] than those [illegible]. [illegible] has such power to [illegible] as your having utterly forgotten them. [illegible] reason, therefore, I [illegible] it had become necessary for me to devote myself to my own affairs and not to any

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[illegible] of whom so long he had not yet redeemed his promise.

τέως, ἕως ἂν αἴσθωμαι[1] τοῦτο δὴ τὸ παρὰ τῷ ποιητῇ λεγόμενον·

ὅ τι μοι ἐν μεγάροισι κακόν τ' ἀγαθόν τε τέτυκται

8 Πρότερον γὰρ οὐδ' ἐπ' ὀλίγον σχολὴν ἤγαγον ἴσως διὰ τὴν ἐμαυτοῦ πολυπραγμοσύνην, ὃς[2] δέον ἐντυχεῖν ὑμῖν καὶ φιλοφρονήσασθαι τοσοῦτο μόνον καὶ θῦσαι τοῖς θεοῖς καὶ νὴ Δία ἀναγνῶναι τὰ γράμματα τὰ τοῦ αὐτοκράτορος, ὅτι ἀναγκαῖον ἦν, ἔπειτα εὐθὺς ἀναχωρῆσαι καὶ τρέπεσθαι καθ' αὑτόν, λόγον τινὰ εἶπον ὑπὲρ ἔργου τινός, οὐκ αὐτὸς μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ[3] τῶν ἡγεμόνων ἀσπουδακότων, ἴσως μὲν ὑμῖν, ἴσως δὲ κἄμοι χαρίζεσθαι βουλομένων[4] καὶ[5] τὴν πόλιν ἄμεινον κατασκευάζειν καὶ σεμνοτέραν ποιεῖν ἅπασαν πρότερον γὰρ ἴστε δηπουθεν ὅτι τοῖς τοιούτοις καὶ τῶν ἀστυγειτόνων ἐλειπόμεθα

9 Τοῦτον ἐμοῦ τότε εἰπόντος τὸν λόγον, ἐπήρθη τε πρὸς αὐτὸν ὁ δῆμος οὐ γὰρ ἔστε ἀγεννεῖς οὐδὲ ἀναίσθητοι τὰς φύσεις καὶ πολλοὶ προετράπησαν φιλοτιμηθῆναι τῶν πολιτῶν πάλιν δὲ ὕστερον ἐμοῦ τὸ πρᾶγμα ἐφ' ὑμῖν ποιουμένου πολλάκις μὲν

[1] αἴσθωμαι Emperius: αἰσθήσωμαι or αἰσθήσεσθαι.
[2] ὃς Sintenis: ὡς.
[3] καὶ added by Reiske.
[4] βουλομένων Morel: βουλόμενον.
[5] καὶ, deleted by Emperius.

[1] Source unknown, evidently some epic poem.
[2] The occasion was doubtless his return from exile. The letter from the Emperor is thought by Arnim to have been a

public business, not even to the extent of making a speech, until, as the poet says, I shall perceive

What ill or good has happened to my hair.

The fact is that hitherto I had not had even a moment's leisure, partly because of my own difficulties, [illegible] I have not [illegible] and [illegible] to the gods, and of course [illegible] Inquire, since that was a matter of necessity, and then [illegible] and [illegible] my own affairs. [illegible] a speech in behalf of a [illegible] responsibility [illegible] and perhaps [illegible] and also to put the city into better shape and make it more impressive as a whole. [illegible] we were [illegible] such matters.

Now, when I made that speech in the assembly referred to, not only was the Assembly [illegible] with such warm [illegible] for it—for you are not [illegible] in [illegible] in your nature—but also many of the citizens were [illegible] to [illegible] opposed. And again which [illegible] I [illegible] before you [illegible] in the [illegible] the other and [illegible] [illegible] with the latter he [illegible] to [illegible]

[illegible] more zeal than discretion.

[illegible] physical improvements.

ἐν τῷ βουλευτηρίῳ, πολλάκις δ' ἐν τῷ θεάτρῳ, ἵνα, εἰ μὴ δοκιμάζοιτο μηδὲ βουλοίσθε, μηδένα ἐνοχλῶ —τὴν γὰρ ἀσχολίαν τὴν ἐσομένην ὑποπτεύω μοι περὶ ταῦτα· πολλάκις μὲν ὑφ' ὑμῶν ἐκυρώθη, πολλάκις δὲ ὑπὸ τῶν ἡγεμόνων, οὐδενὸς ἀντειπόντος

7 Ἐπεὶ δὲ ἀρχὴν ἔλαβον, ὅσα μὲν αὐτὸς ἔπαθον μετρῶν καὶ διαμετρῶν καὶ λογιζόμενος, ὅπως μὴ γένοιτο ἀπρεπὲς μηδὲ ἄχρειον, ὁποῖα ἔργα πολλὰ γέγονε παρ' ἑτέροις μοι τὴν ἀπόλυμπα, καὶ τελευταῖον εἰς τὰ ὄρη φθειρόμενος, οὐκ ὢν ἄμπειρος τῶν τοιούτων οὐδενὸς οὐδὲ ἄπορων ἔργου τινός, ἀλλ' ἕτερα μᾶλλον πράττειν δυναμένος, σπουδαιότερα ἴσως, ἀφ' ὧν οὐ πάρα μόνοις ὑμῖν εὐδοκιμεῖν ἔμελλον, ἃ νῦν ἐπαίνεται· οὐδὲν γὰρ ἦν ἐμοὶ βαρὺ δι' ὑμᾶς ὑπομένοντι.

8 Λόγοι δὲ ἐγίγνοντο πολλοὶ μέν, οὐ παρὰ πολλῶν δέ, καὶ σφόδρα ἀηδεῖς, ὡς κατασκάπτω τὴν πόλιν, ὡς ἀνάστατον πεποίηκα σχεδὸν ἐξελαύνων τοὺς πολίτας, ὡς ἀνῄρηται πάντα, συγκέχυται, λοιπὸν οὐδὲν ἔστιν· καὶ τίνες ἦσαν οἱ σφόδρα ὀδυρόμενοι τὸ χαλκεῖον τὸ τοῦ θεῖνος, χαλεπῶς ἔχοντες, εἰ μὴ μενεῖ ταῦτα τὰ ὑπομνήματα τῆς παλαιᾶς εὐδαιμονίας, ὥσπερ τῶν Ἀθήνησι Προπυλαίων πεσουμένων ἢ τοῦ Παρθενῶνος ἢ τὸ Σαμίων Ἥραιον ἡμᾶς ἀνατρέποντας ἢ τὸ Μιλησίων Διδύμειον[3] ἢ

[3] Διδύμειον Reiske διδυμεῖον.

[1] Popular assemblies often were held in theatres.

[2] Probably for the purpose of selecting building material and allotting contracts.

[3] On the subject of the smithy in question, cf. also Or. 47 11.

to the theatre, to make sure that I should not offend [illegible] in case you did not approve [illegible] project, for I had no [illegible] as to the [illegible] which would be [illegible] with the enterprise. The proposal was repeatedly [illegible] by you and by the [illegible] with not a [illegible] voice.

However, when the work was [illegible] and the trouble [illegible] which I have if we [illegible] [illegible] to [illegible] that the present should not be [illegible] or useless [illegible] [illegible] have been ruined for lack of [illegible] and [illegible] on making a curved [illegible] to be [illegible] though I was not at all experienced in such matters and did not seek for [illegible] to do it for but [illegible] rather have [illegible] I [illegible] other [illegible], perhaps more [illegible] from which I was [illegible] to [illegible] [illegible] all this I now refrain from narrating in detail. For nothing was too burdensome for me, seeing that I bore it for your sake.

But there was a lot of talk, though not on the part of many persons, and very unpleasant talk too, to the effect that I am [illegible] the city, that I have laid it waste, [illegible] the inhabitants, that everything has been destroyed [illegible] nothing left. And there were some who were [illegible] in their lamentations over the [illegible] of Scandea, fearing lest the [illegible] of the good old days were not to be preserved. One might have supposed that the Propylaea at Athens were being tampered with or the Parthenon, or that we were wrecking the Heraeum of the Samians or the Didymaeum of the Milesians, or the temple of

9 τὸν νεὼν τῆς Ἐφεσίας Ἀρτέμιδος, ἀλλ' οὐκ αἰσχρὰ καὶ καταγέλαστα ἐρείπια, πολὺ ταπεινότερα τῶν κλισιῶν, οἷς ὑποδύεται τὰ πρόβατα, τῶν ποιμένων δὲ οἰδεὶς ἂν δύναιτο εἰσελθεῖν οὐδὲ τῶν γεωμετρούντων κύκλῳ ἐφ' οἷς ὑμεῖς μὲν ἠρίθμησατε, νὴ Δία διατρεπεσθε τῶν ἡγεμόνων εἰσιόντων οἱ δὲ ὀφθῆναι ἔχοντες πρὸς ὑμᾶς ἐπεχαίρον καὶ ἐγέλων ὅπου μηδὲ τοῖς χαλκεῦσιν ἔξεστι διαρρεῖν σχεδόν, ἀλλὰ εἰργάζοντο κεκυφότες καὶ ταῦτα πεπτωκότα καὶ ὑπερηρεισμένα, ἃ πρὸς τὴν πλῆξιν τοῦ ῥαιστῆρος ἔτριμμ' καὶ διεστάτο ἀλλ' ὅμως ἦσαν οἱ χαλκεῖς ἀεὶ ἀφικνούμενα τὰ σημεῖα τῆς ἐμπροσθεν κενίας καὶ ἀδοξίας, οὐχ ὅτι τῶν κίονων ἐμέλεν αὐτοῖς τῶν ἱστάμενων οὐδὲ τῶν γεισίων, οὐ τῶν οἰκοδομουμένων ἐργαστηρίων ἄλλοσε,[1] ἀλλ' ἵνα μηδέποτε μείζον ὑμᾶς ἐκείνων φρονοῦντε

10 Εὖ γὰρ ἴστε ὅτι καὶ τοῖς οἰκοδομήμασι καὶ ταῖς ἑορταῖς καὶ τῷ δικαίῳ αὐτοὶ καὶ τῷ μὴ παρ' ἑτέροις ἐξεταζέσθαι μηδὲ συντελεῖν ἄλλοις[2] καθάπερ, οἶμαι, κωμῆν, πᾶσι τούτοις συναιρεθῆναι κέ-

[1] [illegible] by [illegible]
[2] [illegible]
[3] [illegible] ἄλλοις
[4] [illegible] ἄλλοις
[5] ἄλλοις Valesius: ἀλλήλοις

The terseness of Dio's words (without the grandeur of them [illegible] suggests [illegible] if [illegible] were [illegible] with them. [illegible] of the [illegible] of Dio's [illegible] stagnant water, which of the [illegible] of which [illegible] the [illegible] of the [illegible] above the [illegible], covers the excavated area.

[1] Apparently the [illegible] made a thorough inspection of the cities under their jurisdiction.

Artemis at Ephesus, instead of disgraceful ruins buildings much more seemly than the sheds under which the flocks take shelter, but which no shepherd would enter nor any of the nobler breeds of dogs, structures that used to make you blush are in utterly [illegible] when the persons accustomed to [illegible] which men who [illegible] you most would gaze upon you and laugh at your discomfiture; houses where even the [illegible] were scarcely able to stand erect but were built much too low; shacks, moreover, in tumble-down condition, held up by props, so that at the stroke of the hammer they quivered and threatened to fall apart. And yet there were some who were [illegible] over the signs of that [illegible] and complete [illegible], who for [illegible], would [illegible] in the [illegible] of the [illegible] the [illegible] construction in a different manner were [illegible] in preventing your ever feeling superior to that crew.

I [illegible] you [illegible] grand festivals and independence in the [illegible] and exemption from standing trial away from home or from being grouped together with other communities like [illegible] you will [illegible] the expression of [illegible] I only mean [illegible] nature for the

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[1] [illegible] the [illegible] which formed the centre of [illegible]

[2] [illegible] the [illegible] where they would not [illegible]

[3] [illegible] The [illegible] and [illegible] of [illegible] and [illegible] that [illegible] had [illegible]

φανε τὸ φρόνημα τῶν πολεων καὶ μεῖζον ἄξιωμα γιγνεσθαι τὸ τοῦ δήμου καὶ πλεονος τυγχανειν τιμης καὶ παρα τῶν ἐπιδημουντων ξενων καὶ παρα τῶν ἡγεμονων· ταυτα δὲ τοις μεν ἀγαπῶσι τας αὐτῶν πατριδας καὶ μη φοβουμένοις μηποτε ἀλλαττους αὐτῶν φανῶσι θαυμαστην ἔχει την ἡδονην· τοις δὲ ἀναιτιως ἔχουσι καὶ βουλομενοις ἐν ασθενεσιν ἰσχυειν καὶ την δοξαν τῆς πολεως ἀδικουσιν αὐτῶν νομιζουσι δεινοτατον φερει λυπην· καὶ φθονων
11 καιτοι τὸ μεν ὑποδημα δει προς αὐτον αρμοττειν καὶ τον αὐτου πουν, καὶ ἂν δοκη μεῖζον, περιτεμεῖν· πολυ δὲ ψυδεστατον δεῖ καλουειν οὐδε καταγειν προς αὐτον οὐδε πρὸς την ἑαυτου ψυχην μετρειν, εαν τυχη σμικραν ἔχων καὶ ἀνελευθερον, καὶ ταῦτα παραδειγματων ὄντων· λεγω δὲ τὸ τῶν Σμυρναιων, τὸ των Ἐφεσιων, Ἰαρσεῖς ἑκεινους, Ἀντιοχεας.

Καὶ ταῦτα ἐπιστασαι σαφῶς ὅτι καὶ προτερον τινες ἑκουσιοι διεφθειρονθο καὶ χαλεπως ἔφερον, εἰ τοιουτων ἐθιζοιθε ἀπαλλαττεσθαι λειτων καὶ μετα τοιουτων πολεων τολμᾷ τις ονομαζειν την ὑμε-
12 τεραν· ὅμως δ' ἐπι τουτοις σχετλιαζοντες καὶ ταῦτα λεγοντες καὶ δεδοικοτες μηδενα ἐυνοιαν καὶ τοις ἔργοις εμποδων γιγνομενοι, οὕτως εμε διεθηκαν, ὥστε ἀλιγου φυγην ἑμαυτοῦ καταψηφισασθαι

[1] Λυσιν W. Hamowitz. [2] ἄμων Cobet, Arnim, Emm.

[3] Dio was born at Prusa (see Index), a city of Asia Minor at the period and to have spent a [illegible] between the city and another. The citizens of Smyrna were selected for their princes as well as for their prominence in [illegible] (cf. Or. xxxiii. 4 and 47, 16). The citizens of Ephesus suggested some special undertaking in that city (cf. Or. xxxiii. 23 and 26).

pride of the other to be enhanced and the dignity of the commonwealth to be increased and for it to receive favour [illegible] from the emperors [illegible] and from the governors [illegible]. But while these things possess a moderate degree of pleasure for those who use the city of their birth and are not afraid lest some day they may be found to be not good [illegible] of it [illegible] the opposite [illegible] and who deem the good of [illegible] their own ignominy, these things necessarily being pain and jealousy. And yet, while it is true that the slave must fit the master and his own special [illegible], and if the slave is judged to be too surly he must be [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] with regard [illegible] happens to have a [illegible] and [illegible] precedents in the right of [illegible] precedents—I mean the activities of the men of Smyrna, of the men of Ephesus, of those men of Tarsus, of the men of Antioch.[1]

Again, I know perfectly that on former occasions [illegible] persons were ready to burst with rage at hearing me talk this way and were incensed that you were growing accustomed to listening to such words and that any one should presume to name your city in company with such distinguished cities. But still, because of their angry protests at those proceedings, because of the things they say, because of their attempts to prevent [illegible] making a [illegible] and because of their efforts to break up [illegible] tions, they have put me into such a frame of mind as almost to condemn myself to voluntary exile. For

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[1] The [illegible] regarded such comparisons as [illegible]

καὶ γὰρ ἦν γελοῖον μετὰ φυγὴν οὕτως μακρὰν καὶ πράγματα τοσαῦτα καὶ τυραννον ἐχθρὸν δεῦρο ἀφικομενον,[1] ὥστε ἀναπαύσασθαι καὶ τὸ λοιπὸν ἐπιλαθεσθαι τῶν προτερον χαλεπῶν, οἷον ἐκ δεινοῦ καὶ ἀγριου πελαγους καὶ χειμῶνος ἀδοκητως σωθεντα[2] μολις δι' εὔνοιαν θεοῦ τινος, ἔπειτα ἐνταῦθα ὥσπερ ἐν λιμένι ναυαγεῖν

13 Θαυμαζω δὲ μαλιστα ἐνιων ἀνθρώπων τὴν κακοήθειαν, μᾶλλον δὲ τὴν ἄνοιαν, ὑπομιμνησκομενος οἷα ἐλογοποιουν, το μεν πρῶτον περι τῆς πρεσβειας ἣν ἐπεμψατε εὐχαριστοῦντες· οὐ γαρ ἤδειν αὐτον αποδεξασθαι τους πρεσβεις, ἀλλὰ δυσχεραῖναι μᾶλλον, ὡς δέον αὐτὸν επι τῆς πυλης ἀπηντηκεναι καὶ περιβαλεῖν τοὺς ἥκοντας[3] ἢ τοὺς μηδέπω παροντας ὀνομαζειν ἢ πυνθανεσθαι περι τουδε καὶ τουδε,

14 τι πραττουσιν ἢ δια τι παντες οὐκ ἦλθον· οἱ δὲ ἐλογοποιουν ὅτι τοῖς Ἰμυρναιοις παμπολλας δωρεας δοιη καὶ χρηματα αμυθητα πεμψειε μετὰ τῶν Νεμεσεων, καὶ νη Δί' ὡς ἄλλου τινὸς διαλεχθεντος μυριους μὲν αὐτῷ συνεχώρησε βουλευτας, χρυσίου δ' ἐκελευσε ποταμὸν εἰς την πολιν τραπῆναι καὶ

[1] ἀφικόμενον Κτενας · ἀφικομένῳ.
[2] ἀδοκήτως σωθέντα Lac. Ker. · ἀδοκήτους ὡς θέντα M, ἀδοκήτου ὡς θέντα B, ἀδοκήτου ὡσθέντα · T
[3] τους ἥκοντας Ba · μετιόντας · προσιόντας

[1] I.e., Domitian.
[2] Upon the occasion of Trajan's becoming Emperor, A.D. 98.
[3] I.e., Trajan.
[4] Smyrna was noteworthy for worshipping two Nemeseis instead of one. These deities were held to have inspired

It really was ridiculous if, after having experienced [illegible] many tribulations and [illegible] a few years of [illegible] home at last with the hope of being [illegible] and of being able to forget past hardships [illegible] a man who had through the goodness of some gulf [illegible] and with difficulty [illegible] from a dreadful [illegible] and [illegible] I should then be put on to speak [illegible] meet shipwreck here.

But I am [illegible] amazed at the [illegible] of [illegible] persons [illegible] rather at how [illegible] as I call it [illegible] what most of them [illegible] first of [illegible] with the [illegible] of [illegible] which [illegible] that he was [illegible] that was [illegible] as if [illegible] at the gate and there [illegible] the voices of those who had not yet arrived or [illegible] about the one and that [illegible] wanting to know how they were or why they had not come. And others [illegible] that he gave the [illegible] from [illegible] and he [illegible] richer along with the images of [illegible] and to Heaven that after some one else had delivered an address he granted him ten thousand [illegible] and ordered a fleet of gold [illegible] in the direction

Alexander the great to refound the city and they were [illegible] We may [illegible] that [illegible] [illegible] Alexandria [illegible] pp. 353–354

[illegible] the [illegible] [illegible] that [illegible] [illegible] place that he [illegible] [illegible]

μυριάδες ἄνεμοι τινες εἰσιόντες ἐν αὐτῷ ἦν
13 αὐτῶν ὡς ἐρευνήσοντες δὲ ἄνωθεν τὸ γὰρ πολλοὺς
κακῶν πρᾶγμα καὶ μεγάλων τυγχάνειν οὐκ ἂν
οὐδένα ἀμφισβητοῖμι τοῦ νῦν ἔχοντος ἄλλως τε καὶ
πρώτου τυχόντος καὶ τῆς ἀφίξεως ἴσως ἐπιφοβη-
σόντος. ὅμοιον γὰρ, ὥσπερ εἴ τις αὐτὸν μόνον λα-
βὼν ἢ τὸν ἥλιον ἢ τὸν Διὸς ἵππον ἢ τινὰς ἀνεμίους
ἀνεῖν ἢ μηδὲν ἄλλο ἀπὸ τῶν κρείττω δυνησόμε-
νος αὐτὸν φιλοθρωπότερος ἂν δ' αὐτοῦ πρὸς
τοῦ καὶ συνεστώτος ἀπαντῶν εἴη τι παράσχοι
ἂν ἐκεῖνος τῶν ἄλλων ἂν ἑκόντων εἴδοιτο.
14 Ἴσως οὖν ἐκεῖνον εἴποιμι τοῦτο τὸν λόγον,
ὅνερ ἄλλοι ὑμῶν βουλόμενοι, ὅτι καὶ τοῦτο τοῦ
πρᾶγματος ἔχει πρότερος ἀφικόμην καὶ πολλοὺς
εἶπον ἀνθ' ὅλου λόγους ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν ἀνήμερος συμ-
φέρειν τὴν πόλιν τοῦτο καὶ κρείττον εἶναι μὴ
διαφερόσθαι πρὸς μηδένα ἀνθρώπων ἡσυχίαν ἄγοντα θεῖ, οἶ
μαι, πρὸς τοὺς ἐκεῖνος οὕτω καὶ ἀπτοήτους· οὐ
μέντοι πρὸς ἐκείνους γε ἄλλον οὐδὲ εἶπον φιλαν-
θρωπότερον εἶναι πρὸ τοῦ καταλλάγηναι δημοσίᾳ τὴν
πόλιν καὶ φίλους ὑμᾶς γενέσθαι· κοινὸν φάσκοντα
γε ἐκείνῳ εἶναι τὸν ἀρχὴ φιλοφρονούμενον καὶ
παρακαλοῦντα, ἀφικόσθαι· καὶ πολλὰ διεκεῖτο μοι

[1] πολλοὺς] ἄλλους Emperius.
[2] ἀμφὶ Emperius; ἐ μὲν M [illegible] I R.
[3] ἐ added by Em[illegible]
[4] ἀμφὶ τε Reiske [illegible]
[5] καὶ added by Casaubon.

[1] Dio's earlier [illegible] in Rome, his friendship with Nerva, and his [illegible] in the respect of kingship. Or. I seem to warrant this modest boast.

of hospitality and conditions thousands of guests were [illegible] not a number which [illegible] though for my part I wish it were [illegible] more people meeting with success and gaining great fortune without [illegible] and [illegible] reputation [illegible] a man who [illegible] such good fortune as I had [illegible] fortune [illegible] fortune. [illegible] if a man were [illegible] that for him alone the [illegible] would be rain or he would [illegible] that no one else [illegible] be permitted to drink from the springs. On the contrary, being at [illegible] and most sagacious of [illegible] I [illegible] what I said. But [illegible]

When why have [illegible] when we were [illegible] I [illegible] had [illegible] on the matter but had also [illegible] made many speeches in behalf of [illegible] the city and that I was [illegible] with any man of a [illegible] part of a [illegible] those who are [illegible] neighbors.[1] Now, however, I did not go to them to speak any word of human kindness in a [illegible] of the official reports [illegible] and the establishment of your friendship with them. And [illegible] they sent me an official [illegible] expressing their friendship toward me and [illegible] me [illegible] a visit.[2] Furthermore, I had many obligations

[1] [illegible]

[2] [illegible]

[3] I.e., the Apameians.

[4] Upon his return from exile, five years earlier.

πρὸς αὐτοὺς ὑπῆρχεν, ὥσπερ[1] ἄλλῳ τινὶ τῶν ἐντεῦθεν ἀλλ' ὅμως οὐχ ὑπέμενον φιλανθρωπεύεσθαι κατ' ἐμαυτόν, ἀλλὰ κοινῇ μεθ' ὑμῶν αὐτοῖς ἐβουλόμην γενέσθαι φίλος ὅθεν ὑφεωρώντο με καὶ δυσχερῶς εἶχον.

17 Καὶ νῦν πυθόμενος τὰς διαλύσεις καὶ τὴν φιλίαν ταύτην πραττομένην, καὶ ψηφισαμένων ὑμῶν ἐμὲ καλεῖν, ἴσως καὶ ταύτης ἕνεκα τῆς χρείας—τυχὸν γὰρ ἠλπίζετε κἀμοῦ μεταδοντος ὁρῶν μᾶλλον καὶ ἀσφαλέστερον ἔσεσθαι πάντα καίτοι καὶ νῦν ἴσως οὐ τοῖς παροῦσι μόνον, ἀλλὰ κἀμοὶ νεμόντες τιμὴν μετὰ τῶν ἄλλων, λογιζόμενοι κἀμὲ πολίτην ὑμέτερον, τυχὸν προθυμότεροι γεγόνασι πρὸς ὑμᾶς—ὅμως οὐ[2] σφόδρα ἠπειχθὴν εὐλαβούμενος μὴ γένηται τοῦτο ἐμποδὼν οὐκ ἐκείνοις, ἀλλὰ τῶν ἐντεῦθέν τισι σχεδὸν γὰρ εἰώθασι πολλοὶ τῶν ἀνθρώπων οὐ τοῖς πραττομένοις, ἀλλὰ τοῖς πράττουσι φθονεῖν

18 ἐπεὶ καὶ νῦν τοὺς λόγους τούτους πρὸς ἐμὲ ἔλεγον οἱ προεστῶτες αὐτῶν καὶ τοτὲ ἐξὴν ὑμῖν ἀπηλλάχθαι πραγμάτων ἀλλ' ὑφεωρώμην ἐγώ μή τισι τῶν ἐντεῦθεν προσαντες γένηται καὶ δυσπόλιν φέρωσιν ἐμοῦ πράττοντος αὐτὰ καὶ νῦν τοιοῦτ[3] τρόπον τινὰ ἐκεῖν ἐβράδυνα ὅσα μὲν οὖν καὶ δι' ἐμοῦ καὶ δι' ἑτέρων δυνατὰ γιγνέσθαι τῇ πόλει,

[1] ὥσπερ ὥσπερ edd. Gier. ἅπερ Emperius.
[2] οὐ Herwerden ἢ
[3] τοιοῦ added by Crosby

[1] It is plain that envoys from Prusa were already in Apamea, and seemingly negotiations were not progressing

toward them like any other citizen of Prusa. But [illegible] to show my goodwill toward these independent, but preferred rather to make friends with them along with you. So they moved upon me with [illegible] hospitality.

Besides, at the present time, although I had hoped to [illegible] that the emperor of Prusa was being [illegible] and enough you had [illegible] to show me [illegible] for you, as has been expected that everything would be [illegible] to achieve and [illegible] if I [illegible] fact even more [illegible] home where [illegible] the other [illegible] of course they may [illegible] have [illegible] the proud toward you [illegible] that I was in no great haste to come before you, being very [illegible] coming might prove a [illegible] not to you [illegible] some of the [illegible] with [illegible] under consideration that [illegible] Why, even a year ago the leaders of Asia were making these proposals to me, and you might at that time have been [illegible] from trouble; yet I had [illegible] that the proposals might prove [illegible] from here and [illegible] might be [illegible] if I acted in the matter. And [illegible] so one might say [illegible] Accordingly, whatever can be accomplished [illegible] through others as well as through myself I am to have entrusted to others

to use the [illegible] We do not know to what [illegible] Dio refers.

ταῦτα ἐκείνοις ἀξιῶ μᾶλλον ἐπιτρέπειν, ἵνα μηδεὶς
ἀντιβαίνῃ μηδὲ λιπῇ βασκαίνων. ὅσα δ' οὐ
ῥᾴδιον ὑπ' ἄλλου τῶν ἐντεῦθεν πραχθῆναι, τυχὸν
δὲ καὶ λίαν χαλεπόν, ἡγεῖσθε πρὸς ἐκείνους ἀεί με
19 τὴν γνώμην ἔχειν μέχρις ἂν εὐμενεῖς· καὶ μὴν
ὅστις ἂν προθυμῆται τὰ περὶ τὴν πόλιν καὶ δύνη-
ται τι ποιεῖν ὑμῖν συμφέρον, ἐμὲ πρῶτον ἕξει
τὸν μαρτυροῦντα καὶ συναγωνιζόμενον, καὶ τὸ
αὐτὸ πρᾶγμα, ὃ γίγνεται ὀρθῶν, πολὺ ἂν ἥδιον
ἐπαινέσαιμι καὶ προθυμότερον ἄλλου πραττόντος ἢ
αὐτὸς εἰσηγούμενος· οὐδὲ γὰρ εὐδοκιμεῖν βουλό-
μενος οὐδὲ τῶν ἐπαινούντων ἀπορῶν οὐδ' ἐπιθυμῶ
δόξης, ἀλλὰ τῇ πρὸς ὑμᾶς εὐνοίᾳ βούλομαι γίγνε-
σθαί τι τῶν δεόντων, καὶ τοῖς θεοῖς εὔχομαι πᾶσι
γήρων ὡς πλείστους ἐπιδεῖν ἱκανωτέρους ἐμοῦ τὴν
πόλιν ὠφελεῖν.
20 Καὶ νῦν ὑπὲρ τούτου ἐπαινῶ τόν τε ἄρχοντα καὶ
τὸν εἰσηγησάμενον· πᾶσα μὲν γὰρ ὡς ἔπος εἰπεῖν
ἔχθρα καὶ διαφορὰ πρὸς ἀντιποιῶν γιγνομένη ἐργώ-
δης καὶ δυσχερὴς καὶ πόλει καὶ ἰδιώτῃ, κἂν ὁπω-
σοῦν τυχοῦσι διακείμενοι· τούς τε γὰρ ἀσθενεῖς
ἱκανὸν ἐξελέγξαι καὶ ταπεινῶσαι πρὸς τοὺς σφόδρα
χαλεποῖς καὶ τοὺς εὖ πράττοντας ἀνοχλῆσαι καὶ
ταράξαι τὴν ψυχὴν αὐτῶν· ὅθεν οἱ νοῦν ἔχοντες
αἱροῦνται φέρειν ἐλαττούμενοι τὰ μέτρια καὶ μὴ

[1] ἀεί added by Reiske.

[1] Sections 1–15 make very evident the bitterness with which some of Dio's fellow citizens looked upon him. He assures us that they formed only a minority, and Dio seems always to have retained popular support. Not only his

preferable, so that no one may make opposition or be offended because of envy toward me. On the other hand, anything which could not be achieved by any one else [illegible] which is [illegible] difficult, achieve [illegible] has my own interest so long as I have the breath of life. Not [illegible] in enthusiasm [illegible] concerning the city and has [illegible] nothing [illegible] advantages [illegible] the first to hear [illegible] and [illegible] and I would spend more gladly [illegible] praise the [illegible] if [illegible] were [illegible] spirit. [illegible] to be [illegible] of my goodwill toward you, but [illegible] and I [illegible] and I [illegible] may behold the greatest possible number of men more competent than myself to benefit the city.

And now in this enterprise I praise both the official in charge and the man who made the motion. For practically every enmity [illegible] arising in connexion with any [illegible] is a vexatious thing and unpleasant for both state and private citizen, no matter how they may be situated. For [illegible] and [illegible] the [illegible] to say nothing of the hardships they have already, but also among those who are prosperous and between their [illegible]. Therefore sensible persons prefer to submit to defeat in ordinary matters and

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[illegible]

σφοδρα ἀκριβῶς περιεχεσθαι τῶν δικαιων ἢ[1] φιλονικοῦντες εφ' ἑκαστῳ καὶ μηδενὶ μηδεν εἴκοντες ἀεί τινας ἔχειν τοὺς ἐπιβουλευοντας και πολεμουντας, καὶ τουτο μὲν τοις εὐτυχημασι νεμεσωντας καὶ καθ' ὅσον οἷοί τέ εἰσιν ἐμποδων ἱσταμένους, τουτο δέ, ἂν συμβῇ τι πταῖσμα —πολλὰ δέ, ὡς ἐν
21 ἀνθρωποις, τά[2] γιγνόμενα—χαιροντας καὶ ἐπιτιθεμένους· οὐ γαρ ἐστιν οὐδεις ἀσθενης οὕτως οὐδὲ ἀδυνατος τὴν φυσιν, ἄνθρωπος ὢν πρὸς ἄνθρωπον, ὃς οὐ τυγχάνει καιροῦ τὴν δυσμένειαν ἐνδείξασθαι καὶ το μισος ἢ καθ' αὑτον ἢ σὺν ἑτέρους καὶ λόγον τινὰ εἰπειν ᾧ πάντως ἐλύπησε, καὶ πράγμα συνθεῖναι τὸ βλάψον· οὐδὲ γαρ κόπημα οὐδεν οὕτως ἀναισθητον τοῖς ἔχουσιν ὡς μηδέποτε βλαψαι μηδὲ ἐμποδων γενέσθαι μηδεμιᾶς πραξεως, ἀλλὰ κἂν ἐγρηγορότι καὶ βαδίζοντι μὴ σφοδρα ἐνοχλῇ τὴν ἰσχυν τοῦ σωματος, εἴς γε τὴν κοιτην ἀπηρτησε καὶ διασπᾷ καὶ διαφθείρει τὸν ὕπνον·
22 Οὕτως ἡγοῦμαι φημι μηδέποτε λυσιτελεῖν ἀπεχθάνεσθαι καὶ φιλονικεῖν μηδὲ τῇ μεγιστῃ πολει πρὸς τὴν βραχυτάτην κωμην· ὅταν δε δῃ πρὸς ἀνθρωπους ἢ πόλιν οἰκοῦντας οὐ[3] σμικρὰν καὶ πολιτειαν ἐξαιρετον ἔχοντας καὶ παρα τοις ἡγεμόσι τιμὴν τινα καὶ δυναμιν, ἐαν σωφρονωσι· δεῖ γαρ ἡμᾶς ἀκούειν τἀληθῆ καὶ μη χαλεπῶς φέρειν ἐαν τις ἑτέρους ἐπαινῇ βουλομενος ἡμας ὠφελεῖν—τὸ δὲ μέγιστον ὁμορους καὶ ἀστυγειτονας καὶ μόνον οὐχὶ

[1] ἢ added by Reiske [2] τα added by Reiske
[3] οὐ added by Casaubon.

to be not too precise in defending their rights, rather than by quarrelling over every matter and never making any concession to any one, appear to have persons plotting against them and making war on them, persons who feel resentment at their good fortune and, so far as they are able, try to stand in the way of it; and who, on the other hand, if any [illegible] [illegible] place, and many are the re[illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] as to [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] and [illegible] the opportunity [illegible] enough. For [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] suggested by nature man [illegible] who have [illegible] [illegible] opportunity to display rivalry and hatred, rather [illegible] of communities [illegible] tempted to make [illegible] settlement by [illegible] [illegible] cause pain or [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] have [illegible] with it [illegible] [illegible] or become a hindrance in any activity, but even if it does not greatly hamper the strength of a man while awake and working, at least [illegible] from him when he goes to bed and causes him [illegible] and disturbs his [illegible].

And I [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] for the great [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] in [illegible] and [illegible] with the [illegible] age; but of course when the hostility is directed against men who occupy no mean city, who have a superior form of government, and who, if they are [illegible], [illegible] a measure of [illegible] [illegible] and influence [illegible] the [illegible] [illegible] for you must bear the [illegible] and [illegible] [illegible] if a man [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] who, above all, share your borders and are neighbours to

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[1] Apamea enjoyed a position of distinction in Bithynia, being a Roman colony. Cf. [illegible]

καθ' ἑκάστην τὴν ἡμέραν ἡμῖν ἀναμιγνυμένων, τοῦτο μὲν τοῖς πλείστοις ἀνίγμασι παρεχόντων, τοῦτο δὲ πολιτῶν τινων καὶ σχολῆς τῶν δυναμένων παρ' ἡμῖν τῆς παρ' ἐκείνοις τιμῆς τυγχάνοντων· ὧν χρὴ τοῦτον ἄλυπον καὶ ἀπλαῖδη τὴν ἡμέραν ὑπολαμβάνειν.

23 Καὶ μηδὲν ἀνοικείου μὲ λέγειν οἰόμενος ἐν ἅπασι χρὴ τοῖς ἀνθρώποις καὶ μηδὲν ἀνεπιτήδειον προσαγορεύειν δικαίων μηδὲ ἀνωφελῆ αὐτοῖς διεσθαι καὶ παρακαλεῖν ἀναμιμνήσκων δὲ αὐτοὺς καὶ προτρεπόμενος εἰς φιλίαν σπουδαιοτέρους πρὸς τοῦτο φιλονεικεῖν καὶ τὴν φιλονεικίαν ταύτην ἐν τῇ διαφορᾷ ἐπὶ τοῦτο μετενεγκεῖν πολὺ κάλλιον ἢ ὅταν αὐτοὶ ἀνηνυτοτέρου φαινόμεθα καὶ μᾶλλον καταφρονούντες χρημάτων

24 καὶ τοῦ πλείονος· οὐ γὰρ οὕτως αἰσχρὸν ἐστι λειπόμεθα τοῦ δικαίου τὸ μέρος ἔργοις καὶ τοῖς πρὸς ἡμᾶς αὐτοὺς ἢ τοῖς ἄλλοις τῇ μεγαλοψυχίᾳ καὶ τῇ φιλοδωρίᾳ· ὁ μὲν γὰρ ἐν ἀνάγκαις ἀγωνίζεται κρείττω δοῦναι ἀνθρώπῳ· ὁ δ' ἐν τούτοις ἀνάγκαις καὶ φιλονεικεῖ· ὅστε ὅτι πρὸς τοῦ αὐτοῦ δοῦναι μᾶλλον ἢ κοινῇ τοῦτο ἐν βελτίοσιν ἡγήσασθαι εἶναι μαχόμενος ἢ διαλλαττόμενος.

25 Ἐκείνοις δ' ἂν μὴ κρείττοσι τῶν νῦν μᾶλλον ἀνεῖμεν, τοῦτο μὲν καὶ εἴλομεν ὅτι δὲ ἀνάγκαι σφόδρα ἀνθρώπου ἴδιαι καὶ διαφέρει, μηδὲ σχήματος τινὸς ἕνεκα ἢ δόξαντος ἐμαυτῷ δικαίῳ

[1] After πρεσβυτέρων Arnim adds τε.
[2] ἀνάγκαις Emperius: ἀνάγκαι MSS.

[1] This was true of both Athens and Rome, rather than of the Greek cities. [illegible]
[2] The phrase would seem to have attracted Byzantine interest.

your city and mingle with you almost every day, most of you being [illegible] then [illegible] marriage while some citizens yes [illegible] the most influential citizens among us have obtained the honour of citizenship with them —have in these circumstances should we regard this hostility as causing us pain and bring us harm

You set in our imagination that I [illegible] we should be wholly subjected [illegible] and that when they are not at all [illegible] or fair to their [illegible] we should beg and entreat them [illegible] but when they choose friendship and display an eagerness for it to show ourselves more favourable [illegible] this point and [illegible] we are growing [illegible] of our being [illegible] to this [illegible] far [illegible] course which aims to make it [illegible] that we [illegible] are more reasonable and more mindful of wealth and personal advantages? For it is not so disgraceful to prefer [illegible] to [illegible] proposal is [illegible] and, by Heaven [illegible] which are [illegible] of moderation and [illegible] to gain a reputation for mere weakness in the other [illegible] boastfulness and contentiousness [illegible] the [illegible] weak rather than [illegible] so much the more [illegible] it is to be [illegible] in making war rather than in making peace

Now there may be other grounds also on which you might with reason pay heed to me rather than to those others but that is especially true because you observe that I have no private interest and am not disposed through any dread of [illegible] or expense on my part to disregard the course which is becoming

τοῦ πράττοντος ὑμῶν· ὅτι γάρ με οὐκ ἐνοχλήσετε μὴ βουλόμενον οὐδὲ κελεύσετε ἀποδημεῖν ὥσπερ ἤδη πολὺν χρόνον ἔχοντα παρ' ὑμῖν, ἐπίσταμαι σαφῶς — ἄλλως τε οὐκ ἀσχολούμενος ἔγω νομίζω συμφέρειν ὑμῖν οὐδὲ τοῦτον ἀποδημῶν τὸν τρόπον — ἀλλ' ὅπερ ἔφην, βέλτιον ἡγοῦμαι πᾶσιν ἀνθρώποις οὐ μόνον ὑμῖν, μήτε ἀναιρεῖσθαι ῥᾴδιον ἐχθρὰν μὴ σφοδρὰν ἀνάγκασαν, τάς τε πρότερον οὔσας καταλύεσθαι πάντα τρόπον, ἂν ᾖ δυνατόν· τὴν ἐκ τοῦ διαφέρεσθαι τινὶ βλάβην μείζονα ἡγούμενοι
21 τῆς παρὰ τὰς διαλύσεις ζημίας· πᾶσα γάρ, ὡς φασιν, εἰρήνη κρείττων πολέμου· καὶ πᾶσα φίλια πολὺ ἀμείνω καὶ λυσιτελεστέρα τοῖς γε νοῦν ἔχουσιν ἐχθρᾶς, καὶ ἴδια τοῖς οἴκοις καὶ δημόσια τοῖς πόλεσιν· εἰρήνη μὲν γὰρ καὶ ὁμόνοια τοὺς χρωμένους οὔδεν πώποτε ἔβλαψεν, ἔχθρα δὲ καὶ φιλονεικία θαυμάστον εἰ μὴ σφοδρὰ ἐνήνεκται καὶ μεγάλα· καὶ τῆς μὲν ὁμονοίας τό τε δίκαιον εἴθισμον ἥ τε πεῖρα ἀρίστη καὶ λυσιτελεστάτη πᾶσι· στάσεως δὲ καὶ διαφορᾶς σκυθρωπὴ μὲν ἡ πρωτηγορία καὶ δυσχερής· πολὺ δὲ χαριέστερα τὰ ἔργα καὶ σκυθρωπότερα· καὶ γὰρ εἴπειν ἀνοστ' καὶ ἀκούσαι· πολλὰ τῶν ἀβουλήτων καὶ πραξάν καὶ παθεῖν·
22 Ἡ δὲ τῶν ἐγγὺς οὕτως καὶ ὁμόρων διαφορὰ καὶ τὸ μίσος οὐδένι ἄλλῳ δοκεῖ ἢ στάσει μιᾶς πόλεως,

[1] παρὰ Reiske, περί.
[2] After [illegible] καὶ.
[3] [illegible] ἴσον.
[4] After [illegible] [illegible] καὶ.
[5] οὐδένι ἄλλῳ [illegible] οὐδὲν ἄλλο.

to you. For I know full well you will not trouble [illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[

ὅπου καὶ γάμων κοινωνία πολλοῖς καὶ συμβολαίων καὶ τὸ ἀφικνεῖσθαι παρ' ἀλλήλους σχεδόν τι καθ' ἑκάστην τὴν ἡμέραν καὶ τὸ συγγενεῖς εἶναι καὶ συνήθεις καὶ ξένους τρόπον τινὰ ἀλλήλοις ἅπαντας παροικοῦσι δὲ πόλις ἐχίρα καὶ διοιμένης λυπηρόν πάντα τρόπον καὶ δυσοιμλήτον, ὥσπερ εἴνους καὶ
25 φίλη συμφέρον καὶ ἀγάπητον· ἐνθυμεῖσθε δὲ ὅσῳ μὲν ἥδιον ἀποδημεῖν πρὸς τοὺς πέλας οἰκείως ἔχοντας ἀλλὰ μὴ ἐχθροὺς, ὅσῳ δὲ βέλτιον τοὺς ἐπιξενουμένους ὑποδέχεσθαι χωρὶς ὑποψίας, ἢν δὲ ταῖς κοιναῖς πανηγύρεσι καὶ θεῶν ἑορταῖς καὶ θεαῖς ὅσῳ κρεῖττον καὶ σωφρονεστέρον ἀναμιγνύσθαι συνθήκαις ἀλλήλοις καὶ συνευχομένους, ἀλλὰ μὴ
30 τοιαῦτα καταρωμένους καὶ βλασφημοῦντας· αἱ δὲ ἐπιβουλαὶ ἑκατέρου τοῦ πλήθους ἐν τοῖς σταδίοις καὶ τοῖς θεάτροις πόσον διαφέρουσι μετὰ ἔπαινον γιγνόμενα καὶ πολλῆς εὐφημίας τῶν μετὰ μίσους καὶ λοιδορίας· οὐ γὰρ ἀνθρώπων ἐπιεικῶν οὐδὲ πόλεων σωφρόνων, μᾶλλον δὲ ἑταιρῶν ἀσχημόνων ἀπὸ οἰκήματος ἑκατέρας· οὐδὲν πίπτουσιν ῥῆμα ἀκόλαστον εἰπεῖν, ἣ φησιν Ὅμηρος,

αἵ τε χολωσάμεναι ἀγορῆς ἐς μέσσον ἰοῦσαι
νεικεῖσ' ἀλλήλῃσι, χρόνος δέ τε καὶ τὰ κελεύει

[1] ἀγορῆς ἢ καὶ ἀγορῇ Jacobs.

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[1] The close relationship between travel and citizenship is phrased also in the phrase which Dio makes for comment with Nicaea (Or. 38, 22).

[2] The ancient traveller was largely dependent on private hospitality.

[3] Aristophanes portrays just such a scene in *Ecclesiazusae* 877-947.

since many have the bond of marriage and of kinsmen, and there is no escape from meeting [illegible] and the citizens here are more [illegible] as we might [illegible] with one another. It is [illegible] of enmity and [illegible] hard to get along with [illegible] disposed and friendly to [illegible] and [illegible] to be [illegible] how much more pleasant it [illegible] when they are on terms of [illegible] and of kindness, and how much better it is for those who are [illegible] away from home [illegible] and how much better and more [illegible] to be accustomed to [illegible] and [illegible] each one another [illegible] face and speech rather than the opposite, cursing and abusing one another! And how different are the shouts of the [illegible] of each of two cities in the stadium and the theatre when uttered in praise and generous acclamation from the cries which are uttered in hatred and abuse! For these outbursts are not fit for reasonable men or well-behaved cities, but rather for [illegible] harlots who [illegible] each from her [illegible] as Homer puts it,

Who in a rage to mid-street go
And loudly wrangle in their [illegible]![1]

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[1] The words of Aeneas to Achilles, *Iliad* 20. 252-255, are [illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

Nor [illegible] passage [illegible]

30 πόσου[1] δὴ ταῦτα ἐστι τὸ μὴ πάσχειν, πόσῳ δὲ[2] πλείονος τὸ μὴ ποιεῖν, ποῖον δ' ἂν τοσοῦτο γένοιτο χρημάτων πλῆθος ἢ χώρας μέγεθος ἀνθ' οὗ προσήκει τοὺς κοινῶν ἔχοντας ἀνθρώπους ἀντικαταλλάξασθαι τὴν καθ' ἡμέραν εὐφημίαν, τὸ πρεπόντως μὲν θεᾶσθαι,[3] προθύμως δὲ ἀποδημεῖν καὶ μὴν τά γε τῆς χώρας καὶ τὰ τῆς θαλάττης καὶ τὰ τῶν ὡρῶν ἐξ ἁπάντων ὑμᾶς εἰς τὸ αὐτὸ συνάγει καὶ μὴ βουλομένους[4] ἀναγκάζει χρήσασθαι ἀλλήλοις ἐκεῖνοί τε γὰρ δέονται τῆς παρ' ἡμῶν[5] ὕλης καὶ ἕτερων πολλῶν καὶ ἡμεῖς οὐκ ἔχομεν οὔτε εἰσαγαγέσθαι δι' ἑτέρου λιμένος οὔτε ἐκπέμψαι τὰ γιγνόμενα παρ' ἡμῖν

31 Πῶς οὖν οὐχ ἁπάντων δυστυχέστατον ὠνεῖσθαι μὲν ἑκάστους παρὰ ἀνθρώπων οἱ φίλων, ἀποδίδοσθαι δὲ τοῖς μισοῦσι, κατάγεσθαι δὲ παρὰ τοῖς βαρυνομένοις, ὑποδέχεσθαι δὲ τοὺς λοιδορουντας, συνεστιᾶσθαι δὲ ἐνίοτε τοῖς ἀλλοτριωτάτοις ἐὰν δὲ πλοῖον τις ἐπιβαίνῃ, σαφῶς εἰδέναι καὶ τὸν κυβερνήτην καὶ τοὺς ναύτας ἅπαντας καταρωμένους τὸ δὲ παντων ἀηδέστατον ὅραμα ἐχθρῶν, τοῦτο ἀεί ποτε ὁρᾶν καὶ πλέοντας καὶ βαδίζοντας, καὶ τούτοις ἀεὶ πλείστοις κατὰ τὰς ὁδοὺς ἀπαντᾶν, πονηρὸν καὶ δυσχερῆ σύμβολον, ὥστε πάντως εἰπόντα

[1] πόσου Seeliger : πόσῳ.
[2] πόσῳ δὲ Fr. Jacobs : ἀπὸ δέ.
[3] θεᾶσθαι Reiske : θεασόμενοι.
[4] After βουλομένους Emperius adds καὶ.
[5] ἡμῶν Arnim : ὑμῶν.

[1] A glance at the map would clarify the statement. Prusa lay close beneath the northern slopes of Mysian Olympus.

How much, then, is it worth to avoid experiencing these things? How much more to avoid [illegible] them on others? What amount of money or extent of territory [illegible] warrant [illegible] men in bartering therefor the [illegible] of their daily lives, the incoming [illegible] and their tendency to go abroad? [illegible] the very small [illegible] in [illegible] did not wish [illegible] things [illegible] the harbour through which to import foreign goods or to export our own [illegible] products.

[illegible] fortunate that each class of have to [illegible] who are our friends and [illegible] to men who hate [illegible] the part of men who are vexed at the prosperity [illegible] to men who revile [illegible] and at times [illegible] at [illegible] them who are most hostile? [illegible] then if [illegible] certain that both the [illegible] are [illegible] strong curses at [illegible] and to have ever before our eyes, whether sailing or walking, the most [illegible] sight of [illegible] that of enemies, and always to encounter such persons in greater numbers on every [illegible] than [illegible] disagreeable [illegible] the result of which one is almost sure to have said something disagreeable or to have heard it said about himself or

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[1] [illegible] at a short distance northward on the shore of [illegible] was the [illegible] the [illegible] which he [illegible] as a [illegible] of export.

[2] [illegible] meetings and sayings were regarded as omens.

32 τι παρελθεῖν ἢ ἀκουσαντα διοχλῆσαι,[1] ὥστε ἔγωγε ἐνθυμούμενος πολλάκις τὴν τῶν αἰνιγμάτων ἀμαθίαν καὶ διαφύρειν, ὅτι τῶν σφόδρα ἀλλήλων καὶ φιλοτάτων ζώων χαίρουσι ἔνιοι ταῖς ψυχαῖς· οἱ μὲν γὰρ ἄνθρωποι τὰ ἄλλα ἀντυχόντες ἀλλήλοις μάχονται καὶ λοιδορούμενοι ἀπιασιν· οἱ δὲ μυρμηκες οὕτω πυκνοὶ βαδίζοντες οὐδέποτε ἠτυχήσασ' ἀλλήλοις, ἀλλ' ἀεὶ πρὸς ἀντιγχάνουσι καὶ παρακαλοῦσι καὶ βοηθοῦσιν ἀλλήλοις.

33 Καὶ μὴν τὸ τῶν συμβόλων παρὰ τὴν ἡμετέραν πολὺ τὸ μὲν ἀληθὲς ἀγνοεῖται πολλοῖς καὶ κινεῖ τοὺς ἄλλους πάντας, ὅτι δὴ τὰς δίκας ὑμεῖς ἀποδέχεσθε καὶ παρ' ὑμῖν αὐτοὺς ἀναγκη κρίνεσθαι· χρὴ δὲ δι' αὐτὸ μᾶλλον φιλανθρώπους ἔχειν καὶ μὴ παρέχειν ἑαυτοὺς ἐπιφθόνους· αἰτιᾶσθ' πρεσβεῖς οἱ χειροτονούμενοι ἐπὶ τοῦτο τὸ πρᾶγμα πολὺν ἀπιασιν, οὐκ ἐκεῖθεν, οὐ παρὰ τῶν ἐχθίστων ἀναχθέντες πλέοντες καὶ χρώμενοι τῷ λιμένι τῆς ἐχθρᾶς πόλεως, ἢ πλεῖν περιάσιν ὥσπερ χαλεπὴν καὶ ἀφανῆ τὴν ἔγνω ἡμῖν θάλατταν, ἐγὼ μὲν γὰρ καὶ τοῖς πρὸ τοῦ ἠναφορμένοις πρὸς τοὺς ἀστυγείτονας ταῦτα ἡγοῦμαι χαλεπωτέρα καὶ βαρυτέρα τοῦ λαβόντας[4] ὅπλα βαδίζειν εἰς τὴν χώραν ἢ πρωΐβελλειν τοῖς τείχεσιν ἢ τὰ 34 δένδρα κόπτειν ἢ τὴν κάρπῳ πῦρ ἀνιέναι. τούτων

[1] Emperius deleted ὥστε ... διοχλῆσαι.
[2] παρὰ] παράδοξα Cobet.
[3] [illegible] Arnim adds [illegible]
[4] λαβόντας Casaubon: [illegible]

[1] The [illegible] and [illegible] the anti-imperial Dio with his most effective [illegible] [illegible], §§ [illegible]
[2] [illegible] seem that Prusa's judicial authority was a recent acquisition.

[illegible] passers-by. So I have often reflected on the folly and the [illegible] of mankind, noting that men are [illegible] the most learned and greatest creatures. For human beings [illegible] come to blows on meeting one another, and when they part they have exchanged abusive language, [illegible] the ants, although [illegible] never bother one another, [illegible] amicably meet and pass and assist each other.[1]

Again, that which has now come to pass regarding [illegible] many peoples and states without exception, those who are not from Prusa [illegible] who have their own [illegible] and it is [illegible] that they must stand apart. [illegible] ought to be the more [illegible] and [illegible] For [illegible] from [illegible] for the [illegible] Apameia? [illegible] they did not set out on their [illegible] from [illegible] of their different [illegible] and use the [illegible] of the enemy [illegible] will they make a [illegible] account [illegible] and the [illegible] at our doors were difficult and [illegible]. As for me, I know that those are who [illegible] have gone to war at variance with their neighbours [illegible] harder to bear and more [illegible] than that people should take up arms and invade their country or attack their fortifications or cut down their trees or set fire to their crops. For although, in my opinion, such actions are hard

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[1] Perhaps [illegible] may refer to the negotiations [illegible] [illegible] the [illegible] of [illegible] immediate situation, but [illegible] regularly present.

γαρ, οἶμαι, χαλεπῶν ἔστιν· τοῦ [illegible] χαλεπωτέρου
ἔστιν ἐφ' ὃν τέτακται τὸ τῶν ἐχθρῶν καὶ τὸ τοῦ
μισοῦντος· οὐ γὰρ ἔστι φαίνεσθαι πόρρω ἀπὸ τούτου
τοῦ πράγματος ἀφελόμενον αὐτόν· ὁ δὲ χρόνος ὁ
τὸ γὰρ τῆς ἔχθρας πάρεστι ἀναιρεῖν· πιστοτάτης[1]
καὶ βεβαιοτάτης ὥσπερ οἶμαι τοιούτου ὁ τῆς
φύσεως θάνατος καὶ διαστήσαντος· τὸ γὰρ μηδὲ-
πωποτε τίνος μηδὲ πολυχρόνιον τὴν πλείστον λόγον ἢ
χωρὶς ἀνιᾶσθαι μηδὲ [illegible] μὴ τυγχάνοντα αὐτοῦ·
τὰ δὲ παρόντα τοῦ φίλου ὅταν ἀνθῇ τε καὶ ἔστιν
ὥσπερ ἔστιν τοῖς ἀνθρώποις μεγαλόφρων, ἀλλ' ἀστεῖος
τοῦ καὶ ἐμαθέν.

20 Ὁ γὰρ ἀρετὴ τοῦ ἐκείνου οὐρανοῦ καὶ τῶν ἐν
αὐτῷ θεῶν καὶ μακαρίων ἀνθρώπων τάξιν καὶ ὁμο-
νοιαν καὶ συνφδοτάτην ἐν αὐτοῖς [illegible] ἀλλὰ οἱ [illegible]
τερπνὸν [illegible] ἀνθρώπου· πρὸς δὲ αὖ τῶν
λογισμῶν [illegible] καὶ [illegible] θάνατος καὶ
πόνος τοῦ σοφοῦ καὶ δικαίου δι' αὐτῶν ἀπο-
νοῦν μετ' ἴσης εὐπαρεστήσεως καὶ μετριότητος δια-
μένει πάθεσιν αὐτὰ τὰ [illegible] ἀπὸ τοῦ
21 ἄνευ τοῦ [illegible] φανεῖεν γὰρ ἂν καὶ τοῖς δοξάζ-
μετοῦσιν ὁ [illegible] ἀπ' [illegible] τοῦ [illegible] ἀνθρώπου,
ὅτι ταῦτα πάθεσιν ἀδύνατα καὶ θεῖα καὶ τοῦ
πρώτου καὶ μεγίστου γένους καὶ δυνάμει ἀνδρεωτα-
τοῦ θεοῦ τὸν ἀνθρωπον χρῆναι εἶναι πρὸς ἀλλή-
λους φίλους καὶ ὁμονοεῖν συμφέρεσθαι φίλοις τὰ τε
ἰσχυροτέρα καὶ μείζω καὶ τὰ ἐλάττω δὴ δοκοῦντα

[1] εἰδὲ added by Reiske.

[illegible]

[illegible] Reiske. [illegible] Emperius Ed.

to bear, altogether harder to bear are the passions of enmity and hatred which we now bear. For from such activity as this nothing beneficial or useful can ever possibly come to pass. For the fruit of enmity is most cruel of all and most stinging, just as [illegible] the fruit of [illegible] is most pleasant and [illegible]. [illegible] to speak of [illegible] that [illegible] of [illegible] the same things [illegible] the [illegible] is not man's conduct as some imagine, but [illegible].

Do you not see in the heavens as a whole and in the divine and blessed beings that dwell therein an order and concord and self-control which is eternal, than which it is impossible to conceive of anything either more beautiful or more august?[1] Furthermore, do you not see also the stable, righteous, and everlasting concord of the elements, as they are called, air and earth and water and fire, with what reasonableness and moderation it is their nature to continue, not only to be preserved themselves, but also to preserve the entire universe?[2] For even if the doctrine may seem to some in any way far-fetched and not pertaining to [illegible] with reference to you [illegible] these things being by nature [illegible] and [illegible] regulated by the purpose and power of the first and greatest god, are enabled to be preserved as a result of their mutual friendship and concord for ever, not only the more powerful and greater but also those reputed to be the

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[1] The planets.

[2] [illegible] as a technical term of the Stoics, whose [illegible]

[illegible]

27 [illegible]

[illegible]

28 [illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[

weaker. But were this partnership to be dissolved and to fall into [illegible] their nature is [illegible] altogether [illegible] as to escape being thrown into confusion and [illegible] to what is termed the [illegible] destruction from existence to non-existence. [illegible] the [illegible] of the ether, of which the wise men speak, the other whereas the ruling and superior element of [illegible] power [illegible] does not shrink from [illegible] [illegible] limitation and [illegible] accepts no [illegible] On the other hand the good and state of a [illegible] man [illegible] of [illegible] the [illegible] of [illegible] to regard the [illegible] for the reason that [illegible] peace and [illegible] are [illegible] and [illegible] everywhere [illegible] and [illegible] upon the [illegible] of [illegible] and [illegible] to it.

For example, do you not observe how the sun gives place to night [illegible] the [illegible] and again how it allows the moon [illegible] with light the whole earth during the absence of the greater [illegible]?¹ And again how the stars make way for the sun and do not feel that they are being mistreated or destroyed through that god's power? And again how the [illegible] when the [illegible] the [illegible] to which he himself gave her light; and furthermore how the sun often is hidden by the most [illegible] or by some thin vapour arising from [illegible] and rivers, so that at times the sun is completely [illegible] at other times

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¹ [illegible] deleted by Arnim.

παντελῶς, ἐνιότε δὲ ἀδρανῆ τὴν ἀκτῖνα καὶ λεπτὴν
20 διαπέμπειν, τοῦτο δὲ τῶν πλανωμένων ἄστρων[1]
τὴν ἄπαυστον χορείαν, ἃ μηδέποτε ἀλλήλοις ἐμ-
πόδων ἵσταται, πρὸς δὲ αὖ γῆ μὲν τὴν κατωτάτω
χώραν λαχοῦσα ὑπομένει, καθάπερ ἕρμα νεώς,
ὕδωρ δὲ περὶ ταύτῃ κεχυμένον, ὑπερθεν δὲ ἀμφοῖν
ἀὴρ μαλακός τε καὶ εὔπνοος, ὁ δὲ ἀνωτάτω καὶ
ξύμπαντα ἔχων αἰθὴρ πυρὸς θείου κύκλῳ περιδρα-
μόντος αὐτοῖς· καὶ ταῦτα μέν, οὕτως ἰσχυρὰ καὶ
μεγάλα, τὴν πρὸς ἄλληλα κοινωνίαν ἐνάγχεται καὶ
διατελεῖ χωρὶς ἔχθρας· μικρὰ δὲ οὕτω πολίχνια
τῶν ἐπιτυχόντων ἀνθρώπων καὶ ἔθνη[2] ἀσθενῆ
κατοικοῦντα ἐν μέρει τῆς γῆς οὐ δύναται τὴν ἡσυ-
χίαν ἄγειν οὐδὲ ἀθορύβως ἀλλήλοις γειτνιᾶν,
40 Ἀλλ' ὁρᾶτε μὲν ἐγγὺς ἀλλήλων πεπηγότες νεοττιὰς οὐκ ἐπιβουλεύουσιν αὐτοῖς οὐδὲ διαφέρονται περὶ τροφῆς καὶ[3] φρυγανῶν, οὐδὲ μύρμηκες πλησίον ὅπας ἔχοντες, ἐκ τῆς αὐτῆς ἅλω πολλάκις εἰσφερόμενοι σῖτον, ἀλλὰ παραχωροῦσιν αὐτοῖς[4] καὶ τῶν ὁδῶν ἐκτρέπονται καὶ συνεργάζονται πολλάκις, οὐδὲ ἐσμοὶ πλείονες μελιττῶν, ἕνα καὶ τὸν αὐτὸν νεμόμενοι λειμῶνα, τῶν ἔργων ἐμελήσαντες
41 περὶ τῶν ἀνθῶν τῆς δρόσου διαφέρονται· καὶ μὴν ἀγέλαι βοῶν τε[5] καὶ ἵππων ἀναμιχθεῖσαι πολλάκις ἀθορύβως καὶ πρᾴως νεμοντται, ὥστε μιᾶν ἐξ ἀμφοῖν ἀγέλην ἀρασθαι· ἔτι δὲ αἰπόλια καὶ ποίμνια συμμιχθέντα ἐπὶ νομῆς καὶ ἡμερεύσαντα[6] ῥᾴδιως

[1] ἄστρων Kiessling: πατρῴων.
[2] καὶ ἔθνη Reiske: ἔθνη καὶ.
[3] καὶ κ.τ.λ. Cod. Par. 1959: καὶ Ed. princ.
[4] αὐτοῖς Ed. princ.: αὐτῶν.
[5] βοῶν τε Arnim: τε βοῶν.

it sends its ray through the vapour thin and feeble? And again, the ceaseless circling dance of the planets, which never get in each other's way? Moreover, the earth is content with having drawn the lowest place, like a ship's prop, and the water with having been poured about it; and, above them both, is the atmosphere, soft and fresh, and highest of all, and all-encircling, is the ether, a divine fire encompassing the others. Now if these beings, strong and great as they are, are not to their partners up with one another and continue free from hostility, can not such poor people as we, of ordinary mortals, such feeble tribes, be [illegible] free from all on earth, [illegible] and peace and be [illegible] hours to give over to general uproar and disturbance?

Why, birds make their nests near each other, yet do not put against each other or quarrel over food and twigs; and also do not quarrel rather though they have their lairs close together, often carrying home grain from the same fresh glean, but rather they make way for each other, and turn off the train, and cooperate frequently; no more do several swarms of bees, though their range over the same meadow, engage their labours and wrangle over the nectar of the flowers. What is more, herds of cattle and droves of horses often range in the pasture and graze, orderly and tractable, inasmuch that to the eye the two breeds form but a single group. And again, goats and sheep which have mingled in the pasture and passed the day together

[1] With the Stoic [illegible] contained in [illegible] of Dr. [illegible] [illegible] "myth of the Magi" used to reinforce it in Dr. [illegible], 88-60.

[illegible] Reader

καὶ πρᾴως ὑπὸ τῶν νομέων διεκρίθησαν· ἄνθρωποι δὲ βοσκημάτων καὶ θηρίων χείρους, ὡς ἔοικε, τὰ πρὸς φιλίαν καὶ τὸ κοινωνεῖν ἀλλήλοις· ἃ γὰρ ἡ φύσις ἐποίησεν εὐνοίας ἕνεκα, ταῦτα ἰδεῖν ἔστιν ἔχθρας καὶ μίσους αἴτια γιγνόμενα· αὐτίκα ἡ πρώτη καὶ μεγίστη φιλία γονεῦσι πρὸς παῖδας.

[1] This sentence may well be an interpolation, for the thought contained in it does not harmonize completely with its context.

are easily and gently separated by their keepers. However, human beings are worse than cattle and creatures of the wild, it would seem, in regard to friendship and partnership with one another. For what Nature has done in the cause of friendship* turns out, as we can see, to be a source of enmity and hatred. For example, the first and highest friendship is that of parents toward children.*

* I.e., by bringing groups of human beings into close contact with each other.

* Whether or not this sentence is complete in itself, the peroration plainly has been broken off abruptly.

THE FORTY-FIRST DISCOURSE TO THE ALAMITANS ON CONCORD

This short address must [illegible]

Or, 40

[illegible]

41 ΠΡΟΣ ΑΠΑΜΕΙΣ ΠΕΡΙ ΟΜΟΝΟΪΑΣ

1 Ὅτι μὲν ὑμεῖς, ὦ βουλὴ καὶ τῶν ἄλλων οἱ
παροῦντες οἱ μετριώτατοι, πρᾴως πρὸς ἐμὲ καὶ
φιλικῶς ἔχετε, δοκεῖ μοι τοῦτο γιγνώσκειν· αὐτός
τε γὰρ ἐμαυτὸν οἶδα περὶ πολλοῦ ποιούμενον τὴν
παρ' ὑμῶν[1] εὔνοιαν καὶ μηδέποτε μηδὲν ἐναντίον
μήτε εἰπόντα μήτε πράξαντα, καὶ ὑμεῖς εὐθὺς ἐμὲ
ἀφικομένον ἐτιμήσατε δημοσίᾳ, ψηφισμά τι[2] πεμ-
ψάντες, συνιόντες τῆς καθόδου καὶ παρακαλοῦν-
2 τες ἐπιδημῆσαι πρὸς αὐτούς· καὶ ἴσως οὐδὲν
ἐποιεῖτε θαυμαστόν· οὐ γὰρ μόνον αἱ λοιπαὶ πόλεις,
ἀλλὰ καὶ τῶν ἰσοτίμων ὑμῖν αἱ πλεῖσται σχεδόν,
ὅπου γέγονα, καὶ πολιτείας καὶ βουλῆς καὶ τῶν
πρώτων τιμῶν οὐδὲν δεομένῳ μετέδωκαν, οὐκ
ἀνωφελῆ σφίσι[3] νομίζοντες οὐδὲ ἀναξίον τιμᾶσθαι
τὸ δὲ ὑμέτερον οὐκ ἔστιν ἀλλότριον ἀλλ' ὡς ἂν
εὔνοιᾳ καὶ χάριτι πατρίδος τιμώσης πολίτην αὐτῆς[4]
τὸ δὲ εἶναι τινας, ὡς ἐν ἑνὶ δήμῳ, τῶν ἐνθάδε
ἐμοὶ σχεδὸν μὴ σφόδρα ἡδομένους οὐκ ἂν θαυμά-

[1] ὑμῶν Wilamowitz: ἡμῶν
[2] ψηφισμά τι Capps: ψηφισματι
[3] ἀνωφελῆ σφίσι Selden: ἀνωφελῆς φησι M, ἀνωφελὲς φησι UB
[4] αὐτῆς Emperius: αὐτῆς.

[1] Dio means his return from exile. Cf. Or. 40. 18.

THE FORTY-FIRST DISCOURSE TO THE APAMEIANS ON CONCORD

M[illegible] of the Council and you other most fair [illegible] I know, I know [illegible] fact that you are [illegible] disposed toward me [illegible] I myself [illegible] your favour [illegible] anything against you [illegible] besides [illegible] in my [illegible] home [illegible] with a resolution which you sent me expressing your joy over my return and inviting me to pay you a visit. And perhaps there was nothing remarkable in what you did, for wherever I have [illegible] not only cities in general but even [illegible] most of those which are of [illegible] with whom you have presented me with citizenship with membership in the Council and with highest honours without my asking it, believing me to be not unworthy to be [illegible] or unworthy of being honoured. And your action is not that of strangers but rather as it were of a fatherland [illegible] its own son in token of good will and of gratitude. Yet that there should be some here—as is natural in a democracy—who, if I may say so, are not too pleased with me[1] would not surprise me, because of the rivalry between our two

[1] Though a native of Prusa, he was an adoptive citizen of Apamea.

σιμι δια τὴν τῶν πόλεων φιλοτιμίαν καίτοι ἐπιστάμαι σαφῶς οὐδὲ τοὺς ἐκεῖ πολίτας ἅπαντας ὁρέσαι δυναμένους, ἀλλ' ἐνίους δι' αὐτὸ τοῦτο ἀχθομένους ὅτι λίαν δοκῶ φιλόπολις καὶ προθυμος
3 δεῖ δὲ τὸν ἐπιεικῆ καὶ μετριον ἄνδρα καὶ ταύτην παρεχειν τὴν ἐξουσιαν τοῖς ἑαυτοῦ πολιταις· τὸ γὰρ μηδένα ἐν πολει μήτε ἀντιλέγειν ἐνι μήτε μεμφεσθαι κἂν ἁπαντα φαίνηται ποιῶν καλῶς, οὐ δημων εστὶν οὐδὲ ἐπιεικές, ἀλλα μᾶλλον φιλεῖ τὸ τοιοῦτον συμβαινειν τοῖς τυραννοις ἢ τοῖς εὐεργέταις· εἰ οὖν εἰσί τινες πρὸς ἐμὲ δυσκολως διακειμενοι, τουτοις μάλιστα πιστεύω· δῆλον γὰρ ὡς νομιζοντες με ἀγαπᾶν τὴν ἐμαυτοῦ πατρίδα καὶ παντα τρόπον αὔξειν οὕτως ἔχουσιν· ἐαν οὖν πεισθωσιν ὅτι καὶ ταυτην ἡγοῦμαι πατρίδα, καὶ πραττειν ὑπερ αὐτῆς ὅ τι ἂν δυνωμαι προθυμός εἰμι, ῥαδιως μεταβαλοῦνται καὶ ἀγαπησουσι με τοῖς ἄλλοις ὁμοίως.

4 Τὸ μὲν οὖν φιλεῖν τὴν πατρίδα μάλιστα πάντων οὐκ ἔξαρνος εἰμι· πυνθανομαι δὲ αὐτῶν εἰ τοῦτο ἀδικου νομιζουσιν ἀνδρος εἶναι καὶ μοχθηροῦ, καὶ πολιτην τοιοῦτον οὐκ ἂν ἐθέλοιεν εἶναι παρ' αὐτοῖς· οὐκοῦν ἔξεστιν ὑμῖν ἔχειν καμε πολιτην ἀνεπόπτως καὶ τῶν ἄλλων τους βελτίστους· καὶ τουτων δι' αὐτὸ μοι τοῦτο πιστευοιτε ἂν δικαιοτερον· ὅστις μεν γαρ ἀγνωμων περὶ τοὺς φυσει γονέας οὐκ ἂν
5 γένοιτο ὅσιος οὐδὲ πρὸς τοὺς θεμένους αὐτόν, ὁ δὲ τοὺς γεννήσαντας ἀγαπῶν οὐδέποτ' ἂν ἀμελήσειε

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[1] Cf. Or. 40. 8-9

[2] I.e., those who feel hostile toward him.

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

τῶν χάριτι γονέων γενομένων. τὸ μὲν γὰρ τῆς φύσεως αὐτόματόν ἐστι, τὸ δὲ τῆς χάριτος ἑκούσιον. εἰμὶ μὲν οὖν πολίτης ἑκατέρων· ἀλλ' ἐκείνοις μὲν οὐ δεῖ με περὶ τούτου χάριν εἰδέναι, ὑμᾶς δὲ ὡς εὐεργέτας ἀμείβεσθαι δίκαιον· διὰ γάρ[1] τὴν ὑμετέραν εὔνοιαν καὶ δωρεὰν μετέχω τῆς πόλεως.

Ἀλλ' ὅσοι μὲν αὐτοὶ πολῖται γεγόνασι, τούτοις μόνον ὑπάρχει φιλάνθρωπον τὸ τῆς δωρεᾶς, τὸ δὲ 6 τῆς φύσεως ἀναγκαῖον οὐ πρόσεστιν· ἐμοὶ δὲ ἀμφοτέρων μέτεστιν. ὁ μὲν γὰρ πάππος ὁ ἐμὸς μετὰ τῆς μητρὸς τῆς ἐμῆς παρὰ τοῦ τότε αὐτοκράτορος φίλου ὄντος ἅμα τῆς Ῥωμαίων πολιτείας καὶ τῆς ὑμετέρας ἔτυχεν, ὁ δὲ πατὴρ τῆς[2] παρ' ὑμῶν· ὥστε καὶ χάριτι καὶ γένει πολίτης ὑμέτερός εἰμι.[3] καὶ μὴν τῶν γε ἐμῶν τέκνων ἥδε πατρίς ἐστι μᾶλλον· τὸ μὲν οὖν ἀναγκαῖον συνακολουθεῖν τὰ τέκνα τῷ πατρί, πολὺ δὲ ἥδιον τούτου[4] τὸν πατέρα τοῖς παισὶ συνέπεσθαι.

7 Διὰ μὲν δὴ ταῦτα εὔνους ἂν ὑμῖν τυγχάνω καὶ πολίτου διάθεσιν ἔχω· καὶ φανερῶς δὲ ἐδήλωσα· τῆς γὰρ φιλονικίας ἐνεστώσης ταῖς πόλεσι, καὶ τῆς πατρίδος σφόδρα μὲν αἰδουμένης ἐμὲ ἄκοντα ἐνοχλῆσαι, σφόδρα δὲ ἐπιθυμούσης ἀναλαβεῖν τὸ

[1] γὰρ Reiske: δὲ. [2] τῆς added by Wendland.

[3] Following this sentence the MSS. read τὸ γάρ, ἀμφοτέρων ἄνω βαδίζειν σχεδὸν οὐ πρέπει ἐπὶ πλεῖον δυοῖν· οὐδεὶς γὰρ οὕτω γε ἐκ μιᾶς ἀληθῶς εὑρεθήσεται πόλεως, "For it is not at all suitable to try to trace one's birth further back than two degrees since by so doing no one in truth will be found to come from one city." This Crosby deletes as an interpolation.

[4] τούτου added by Crosby.

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[1] That his maternal grandfather was a man of cultivation and influence is stressed in Or. 46. 3. Arnim suggests that

become parents as an act of grace. For Nature operates without our choice, whereas grace is an act of freewill. Now then, I am a citizen of each of our two cities; but while I need not feel grateful to the men of Prusa in that connection, it is only fair that I should recognize you as benefactors. For it is through your kindness and generosity that I am a member of your city.

However, for all who have gained citizenship by themselves there is only the benevolence inspired by the grant, and the compulsion which Nature imposes is not attached to it. But as for me, I partake of both: for my grandfather, along with my mother, acquired from the emperor of that day, who was his friend, not only Roman citizenship, but, along with it, citizenship in Apamea too,[1] which my father got [illegible] from you. Consequently I am your fellow-townsman by both grace and birth. Again, to my children at least this is father and mother than Prusa.[2] Where, therefore, necessity dictates that the children follow the father, it is much more pleasant for this father to follow his children.

These, then, are the reasons why I happen to be well disposed toward you and have a citizen's state of mind; and moreover, I have shown it openly too. For when strife had broken out between our cities and the city of my birth very considerably disposed to trouble me against my wishes,[3] though it was

[1] Dio also may have been the emperor whose favour he enjoyed.

[2] [illegible] as he thought, the [illegible] family made their home in Apamea [illegible] Dio's relations with the city was very close.

[3] Cf. Or. 40. 95.

πρᾶγμα, πολλάκις τῷ τιμᾶν προκαλουμένης οὐκ ἐπήκουσα· πρὸς τοῦτο μόνον—οὐδὲν ἂν ὀκνήσας ἑκόντης ἕνεκεν ποιῆσαι, μηδενὸς ἔλαττον τυχὸν πραξαι δυναμένος, καὶ φίλων μοι ὄντων οὔτε ὀλίγων οὔτε ἀδυνάτων, ἵνα μηδὲν ἐπιφθόνον εἴπω μηδὲ ὁ λυπήσει τινάς, ἔτι δὲ οὐκ ὀκνῶν τὴν ὁδόν, ὁπότ' ἴδοι[2] με καὶ ἄλλως ἀπιόντα· τούτων οὖν ὑπαρχόντων ἀπεσχόμην τοῦ πράγματος, οὐκ ἐκείνους προδιδοὺς, ἀλλ' αἰδούμενος ὑμᾶς καὶ νομίζων χρησιμωτέρους ἔσεσθαι κἀκείνοις καὶ ὑμῖν ἂν δύνωμαι φίλας ποιῆσαι τὰς πόλεις τῶν τε προτέρων[3] ζητημάτων[4] ἀπαλλάξας καὶ τὸ λοιπὸν εἰς εὔνοιαν καὶ ὁμόνοιαν προτρεψάμενος· τοῦτο γὰρ ἁπάντων βέλτιστον τε καὶ ἄριστον οὐ μόνον τοῖς ἴσοις πρὸς ἀλλήλους, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοῖς κρείττοσι πρὸς τοὺς ὑποδεεστέρους.

9 Ἐπίσταμαι μὲν οὖν ὡς χαλεπόν ἐστιν ἀνθρώπων ἐξελεῖν ἔριν, καὶ ταύτα ἐν πλείοσι χρόνῳ τεθραμμένην, ὥσπερ νόσημα ἐκ πολλοῦ συμπεφυκὸς οὐ ῥᾴδιον ἀπαλλαξαι τοῦ σώματος, ἄλλως τε εἴ τις ἐθέλοι ἀνωδύνως ἰᾶσθαι· ὅμως δὲ πιστεύω τῷ τῆς πόλεως ἤθει, νομίζων οὐ σκληρὸν οὐδὲ ἀμαθές, ἀλλὰ τῷ ὄντι γενναῖον ἐκείνων τῶν ἀνδρῶν καὶ τῆς μακαρίας πόλεως, ὑφ' ἧς δεῦρο ἐπεμφθῆτε

[1] ἀνήσουσα ἀνήσουσα (ins.).
[2] ὁπότ' ἴδοι τινάς, ὁπότε δοῖ.
[3] προτέρων with UlPT: πρότερον.
[4] ζητημάτων, ζελωμάτων (ins.), ἐγκλημάτων Emperius.

[1] He probably has Trajan in mind, but he avoids direct reference as he is no more poetic.
[2] For his reluctance to answer the call of Prusa, cf. Or. 40, 17 18.

very eager to take up the problem, after awaiting the support by the honors it bestowed upon me. I did not give heed to this and [illegible] that I should have had any reluctance about acting in behalf of Prusa, since I might possibly have accomplished as much as any one, and had not a few friends, and friends who are not lacking in influence; but I was anything [illegible] or likely to hurt some persons' feelings. Furthermore, [illegible] was not because I shrank from the perils since I had [illegible] go [illegible] in any case. Will then in spite of these considerations I hold off from the affair? not as a traitor to the men of Prusa, but out of consideration for you, [illegible] because I believe I should be more serviceable to both if I could save the cities from evils not only by making them of better [illegible] of conduct, but also by turning them toward friendship and concord for the future. For this is the best course of all and the most expedient, not only in dealings between equals, but also in dealings between superiors and inferiors.

Now I understand how difficult it is to eradicate strife from human beings, especially when it has been nurtured for a very long period of time; just as it is not easy to cut the heads of a disease that has long since become a part of it, especially in case one should wish to effect a painless cure. But still I have confidence in the character of your city, believing it to be not rough and barbarous but [illegible] with the genuine character of those distinguished men and that blessed city by which you were sent

* The hope that this [illegible] on [illegible] despite the [illegible] and [illegible] of the [illegible] because of his [illegible] to which [illegible] in [illegible].

φίλοι δὴ παρὰ φίλους[1] οἰκήσοντες ἢ τοσοῦτον εὐτυχίᾳ διαφέρουσα τῶν ἄλλων ἀνθρώπων καὶ δυνάμει πλέον διενήνοχεν ἐπιεικείᾳ καὶ φιλανθρωπίᾳ, τοῦτο μὲν ἀφθόνως μεταδιδοῦσα καὶ πολιτείας καὶ νόμων καὶ ἀρχῶν, οὐδὲν ἀλλότριον ἡγουμένη τῶν ἀξίων, τοῦτο δὲ ὁμοίως ἅπασι φυλάττουσα τὸ δίκαιον

10 Ἦν προσήκει μιμουμένους ὑμᾶς πρᾴους καὶ μεγαλόφρονας φαίνεσθαι καὶ πρὸς τοὺς[2] ἐγγὺς οὕτω,[3] συνοίκους σχεδὸν, μὴ χαλεποὺς μηδὲ ὑπερηφάνους γείτονας, πρὸς οὓς ὑμῖν καὶ γάμοι κοινοὶ καὶ τέκνα καὶ πολιτεῖαι καὶ θυσίαι θεῶν καὶ πανηγύρεις καὶ θεάματα, καὶ συμπαιδεύεσθε αὐτοῖς[4] καθ' ἕνα καὶ συνεστιᾶσθε καὶ ἀλλήλους ὑποδέχεσθε καὶ ἀλλήλοις[5] τὸν πλεῖστον χρόνον συνδιατρίβετε καὶ σχεδὸν εἷς ἐστε δῆμος καὶ μία πόλις ἐν οὐ πολλῷ διαστήματι. καὶ τοίνυν πλείους τῶν ἐκεῖθεν καὶ πολίτας πεποιήσθε, καὶ βουλῆς μετεδώκατε, καὶ ἄρχοντας οὐκ ἀπηξιώσατε γενέσθαι παρ' ὑμῖν, καὶ τῶν σεμνῶν τούτων, ἃ τῆς Ῥωμαίων ἐστὶ πόλεως,

11 ἐκοινωνήσατε πῶς οὖν εἰκὸς καθ' ἕνα μὲν ἕκαστον ἡγεῖσθαι φίλον καὶ τιμᾶν, κοινῇ δὲ τὴν πόλιν ἐχθρὰν νομίζειν, ὑμᾶς τε ἐκείνην κἀκείνους τὴν ὑμετέραν, οἱ γὰρ τοὺς ἀνθρώπους ἀγαπῶντες καὶ

[1] After φίλους Cassulion deletes δεῦρο.
[2] πρὸς τοὺς w : πρὸς τοὺς ΓΠΜ
[3] After οὕτω Kayserus ἀπὸ καὶ
[4] αὐτοῖς Cromby : τοῖς.
[5] ἀλλήλοις deleted by Arnim.

[1] Apamea, originally Myriaea, had been refounded as a

here as friends indeed and dwell with friends. That city which, in addition to the rest of [illegible] good fortune [illegible] has proved to be even more [illegible] in fortune and [illegible] becoming [illegible] its citizenship and [illegible] rights, and [illegible] having no means of [illegible] and at the same time [illegible] all alike.

In consideration of [illegible] it is fitting that you should [illegible] and [illegible] [illegible] you [illegible] and not [illegible] a [illegible] they [illegible] with whom you have [illegible] of [illegible] to the gods [illegible] and [illegible] over you are [illegible] not [illegible] you [illegible] than you [illegible] each other, you spend the greater part of your time together, you are [illegible] one city [illegible] might be [illegible]. Moreover, [illegible] of Prusa you have made citizens of Apameia, you have made them members of the [illegible] you have deemed them not unworthy of [illegible] magistrates among you, and you have admitted them to participate in those august privileges which pertain to [illegible]. How then [illegible] reasonable to regard [illegible] as friends and [illegible] the [illegible] and the [illegible] city as a [illegible] Apameia and Prusa both are doing? For when men have the inhabitants of a city and

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[illegible] The enmity of Rome [illegible] notable, but deserved.

[1] [illegible] were separated by not more than twelve miles at most.

[2] [illegible] of the ties that bound the two cities, cf. Or. 40, 22 and 27-29.

ἀπωλωλεκότες τούτους καὶ προσαγόμενοι πολίτας τὴν λοιπὴν ἢ τὴν ἄκρα ἐχθαίρουσι καὶ τοὺς τόπους, ἢ, ὃ μέγιστον ἐστὶν ὅσων τοῖς θεοῖς ἀπεχθανόμεθα, καὶ τοῦτον ἅπασι μὲν ἐχθρὸν πρὸς ἅπαντας ἐργάζεται καὶ χαλεπὸν οὐδὲν γὰρ οὕτως αὐθέντης ἐχθρὸς ἔστιν οὐκ ἐλυμήνατο ἐπὶ κακοῖς· ἀπὸ τοῦ δ' ἐν φανερῷ ἰσχυρὸν καὶ τὸ μὴ οὐκ ἀνεῖλε ἔχειν ἢ λυπεῖν τινα εἰπεῖν λυπηρὸν ἢ ἔρωτι ἀπεκφεύγειν πρόξενος

13 Οὐ γὰρ ἔστιν οὐδὲ εἶναι· οὐκέτι τὰ τῶν οὐδὲ ὠφέλιμον ἐν τῷ μέσῳ καρπῶν, ἀλλὰ τὸ ἐναντίον ἀπαντῶν ἀνθεστηκὸς καὶ πολεμοῦντος, ὥστε θερμὸς οὔτω χαλεπὸν οὐδὲ ἐν τόπῳ ὧν ἔχουσι· φέρουσι μὲν οὖν εἰς χεῖρας καὶ παρεκκαλοῦσι, τοὺς δὲ συμφύσας αὐξεῖ, καὶ τὰ μὲν ἄλλα τὰ λυποῦντα τὴν λύπην ἀπεκφεύγεσθαι διδάσκουσι· τοὺς δὲ εἰ πρόσεστι συνεκφυόμενα κατὰ τὴν ἡλικίαν· ἀγαθὴ γὰρ, οἶμαι, τοὺς πολλοὺς· ὑπὸ μὲν ἄλλων βλαπτόμεθα· παρὰ δὲ τοῖς ἄλλοις καταφρονούμεθα καὶ ἀδικούμεθα, ὡς τοῦτο μὲν ἀπωμοσάμεθα αὐτοὺς ἐκείνων, τοῦτο δὲ αὐτοὺς ἀφόβους καὶ φιλονείκους

13 φίλοις δὲ καὶ ἀμόνοιαι οὐδὲν κάλλιον οὐδὲ θεοφιλέστερον καὶ οἶκος πρὸς οἶκον καὶ πόλις πρὸς πόλιν· τοὺς μὲν γὰρ εὐπορωτέρους κτώμεθα τοὺς φίλους συμπορίζοντας αὐτοῖς, τοὺς δὲ ἀποφεύγουσι τὰ κακὰ ῥᾷον ἢ οἷς ἂν φίλοι συμμαχῶσι, τῶν δὲ ἐχθρῶν ἀπέστη τὰ λυπηρὰ ἢ τοὺς ἐχθροὺς τοὺς συνελεγόντας καὶ συμφέροντας αὐτοῖς, τοὺς

[1] ἢ τὸν ἄκρα Reiske : ἢ τὸν ἄκρα : τὸν ἄκρον δὲ B[1]
[2] ἐχθρὸν : ἐχθρὸν
[3] παρεκκαλεῖ δὲ καὶ ... ἀνεῖλε : ἔχειν ἢ ... ἀνεῖλε B.
[4] τοὺς πολλοὺς : τοὺς πολλοὺς : c
[5] βλαπτόμεθα : μὲ τοὺς ἀπωσόμεθα
[6] πόλιν Reiske : πόλιν.

mingle with them and welcome them to citizenship, what explanation remains except that they despise [illegible] and the practices of each other [illegible] which [illegible] to suggest [illegible] that they do not [illegible]? [illegible] any enmity towards any people [illegible] things. For there is no enemy so [illegible] as one or [illegible] has even [illegible] who [illegible] to [illegible] his hatred [illegible] saying [illegible] impairment [illegible] is never [illegible] own [illegible] but [illegible] is any [illegible] which [illegible] with [illegible] good [illegible] disasters [illegible] who [illegible] things [illegible] the [illegible] and permit those who are [illegible] good fortune to [illegible] that the [illegible] should be [illegible] by one another and [illegible] however [illegible] be [illegible] and held in [illegible] by [illegible] antagonists to begin with [illegible] as [illegible] and [illegible]. However, there is nothing [illegible] or more [illegible] than friendship and concord, whether between man and man or between cities and cities. For who are they who acquire the good things of life more [illegible] than those who have friends who assist in acquiring them? Who escape the bad things more [illegible] than those who have friends as allies? Who are [illegible] distress than those who have persons to share their suffering and to

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[a] In [illegible] there [illegible] closer resemblance to Or. 40. 20-21.

δὲ ἥδιον τὸ εὐτυχεῖν ἢ ὅσοι μὴ μόνον αὐτούς, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἄλλους εὐφραίνουσιν εὖ πράττοντες, ὡς ἔγωγε οὐδ' ἂν εὐτυχεῖν ἐκεῖνον τὸν ἄνδρα φαίην ὃς οὐδένα
14 ἔχει τὸν συνηδόμενον τίς δὲ συνεργός, τίς δὲ σύμβουλος[1] ἀμείνων τοῖς ἴδοῦσιν ἢ φίλος ἐντυχών, σχεδὸν γὰρ οὗτος καὶ σύμβολος[2] οὐ μόνον εὐφημότατος, ἀλλὰ καὶ ὠφελιμώτατος, καὶ[3] ὅτῳ ἂν ἐντύχῃ ἀνὴρ εὔνους τὰ δὲ τοῦ μίσους καὶ τὰ τῆς ἔχθρας παντοχῇ λυπηρὰ καὶ δυσχερῆ χαλεπὸν μὲν ἐν σπουδῇ, χαλεπὸν δὲ ἐν εὐφροσύνῃ παρὼν ἐχθρός, λυπηρὸν μὲν ὁρῶσι, λυπηρὸν δὲ μνημονεύουσι, πολὺ δὲ πάντων πειρωμένοις βλαβερώτατον

[1] σύμβουλος] σύμβολος Arnim.
[2] οὗτος καὶ σύμβολος Emperius οὗτος σύμβουλος M, αὗτος ὁ σύμβουλος UB.
[3] καὶ deleted by Emperius.

help them bear it? To whom is good fortune sweeter than to those who gladden by their success not only themselves but others too? For I would not count that man fortunate who has no one to share his pleasure. Again, what helper, what counselor, is more welcome to behold than a friend met unexpectedly? In fact one might almost say that he is also an augury, not only most auspicious, but even most helpful, and to whomever one may meet a loyal friend.[1] But the works of hatred, indeed, and of enmity are painful and grievous everywhere. The presence of an enemy is a grievous thing, whether in a serious business or in the midst of good cheer a painful thing to behold and painful to recall, but beyond all things most baneful to experience.

[1] Dio seems to be punning on *σύμβολος* and *σύμβουλος*. On the chance meeting as a *ξύμβολον*, cf. Aristophanes, *Birds* 719-721.

THE FORTY-SECOND DISCOURSE: AN ADDRESS IN HIS NATIVE CITY

This delightful little bit, obviously like introduction to a more pretentious performance, served to disarm the audience and make it sympathetic with the speaker. Its note of self-depreciation sounds quite modern. Incidentally, we get valuable information about the fate of literary works even in the lifetime of their authors, as well as about the activity of the booktrade and the low cost of its product.

Arnim asserts that our little "curtain-raiser" is unmistakably from Dio's philosophical period. Actually all that seems unmistakable about the piece is that its author either has achieved fame as a public speaker or thinks he has. The very title is not above suspicion, for the remarks which follow afford no clue to the identity of the speaker or to either place or occasion of delivery.

1 Ὅπως μὲν ὑμεῖς διανοεῖσθε περὶ ἐμοῦ καὶ τῆς ἐμῆς εἴτε σοφίας εἴτε ἀμαθίας οὐ δυναμαι ξυμβαλεῖν, ποτέρου ὄντως ἐπιθυμεῖτε τῶν λόγων ὡς ἀκουσόμενοί τι θαυμαστὸν καὶ τοιοῦτον ὁποῖον οὐκ ἂν ἑτέρου τῶν νῦν, ἢ τοὐναντίον, ὡς ἐμὲ ἐξελέγξοντες καὶ ἀποδείξοντες οὐθὲν μεγα οὐδε σπουδαῖον
2 ἐπιστάμενον· εἰ μὲν γὰρ οὕτως ἔχετε, θαρρῶν ὑμῖν παρέχω ἐμαυτον, ἵνα ἐμπλήσητε τὴν προθυμιαν· εἰ δὲ μή, φοβοῦμαι τὴν ἐναντίαν δοξαν, μήποτε ἀκούσαντες ἔπειτα οὐ δικαίως ἐμοῦ κατεγνῶτε, ὅτι αὐτοὶ οὐκ' ὀρθῶς ἐδοξατε· οὐδεποτε γὰρ οὐδενὶ ἔγωγε τοῦτο ὑπεσχόμην, ὡς ἱκανος ὢν λεγειν ἢ φρονεῖν ἢ πλέον τι γιγνώσκειν τῶν πολλῶν, ἀλλ' ὑπερ αὐτοῦ τούτου διαμαχομενος ἑκαστοτε καὶ ἀντιλεγων τοῖς ἀξιοῦσιν ἔπειτα εἰς τὸ λεγειν καθισταμαι· καὶ πολλοὶ τοῦτο αὐτὸ ἐπιδεῖξαι ἠγησαντο.
3 Ὅμως δὲ καὶ αὐτὸς ἑτέραν καὶ ἑτέραν λαμβάνω[2] ὁδον· ὅταν μὲν γὰρ εἰς ἐμαυτὸν ἀπίδω καὶ τὴν

[1] αὐτοὶ οὐκ Emperius: οὐκ αὐτοὶ.
[2] λαμβάνω, ἐμβαίνω Selden.

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[1] This is referring to the opposing opinions of him mentioned in the preceding paragraph. The usage of the word ἀπίδω may be compared with that of Herodotus (ix. 20).

THE FORTY-SECOND DISCOURSE: AN ADDRESS IN HIS NATIVE CITY

WHAT your purpose is about me and my wisdom—or folly, as the case may be—I can't imagine; whether you really want a speech from me with the expectation of hearing something wonderful, something the like of which you could not hear from any other man now living, or, just the reverse, with a view to showing me up and proving that I know nothing important or weighty. For if this is your purpose, I put myself at your disposal with full confidence, to the end that you may satisfy your desire; but if such is not the case, I am apprehensive as to the opposite opinion, lest when you have heard me you may pass unfavourable judgement upon me undeservedly, merely for the reason that you yourselves had formed an incorrect opinion about me. For I have never given any one to understand that I am an able speaker or thinker or that I possess more knowledge than the average; but on that very point I strongly insist, on every occasion, to those who ask me to speak, and I correct that false impression before setting down to my speech; and many consider this very protest of mine to be ostentation.

However that may be, I myself also take now this path and now that. For, on the one hand, whenever I consider myself and my inexperience, my

ἐπειρᾶν τὴν ἐμαυτοῦ, περὶ πάντα μὲν ἀτλοῦς, μάλιστα δὲ τὴν περὶ τοὺς λόγους· ὡς ἰδιώτης ὢν διατρίβομαι καὶ τὸ λοιπὸν ἰδιώτου βίον βιώσομαι· ὅταν δὲ εἰς τοὺς σπουδάζοντας καὶ παρακαλοῦντας, ὑπομένειν ἐμαυτὸν ἀναγκάζομαι, μὴ ἄρα τι τῶν ἐμῶν λόγων ἄξιον ἢ· καὶ λανθάνει πεπαιδευκὼς τὸ αὐτὸ ἑνὸς τῶν ζώων ἃ χρήσιμα ὄντα τοῖς ἀνθρώποις καὶ δύναμιν τινὰ ἔχοντα ἐν αὐτοῖς πρὸς ἴασιν χρεμμάτων, ἤτοι χολῆς ἢ αἵματος ἢ πιμελῆς ἢ τριχῶν οὐκ ἴσασιν, οἱ δὲ ἄνθρωποι εἰδότες διοικοῦσιν αὐτὰ καὶ πειρῶνται πάντα τρόπον συλλαβεῖν οὗ τῶν κρεῶν ἕνεκεν, ἀλλ' ἀπειπὼν τῆς δυνάμεως

4 Μὴ' ἄρα καμὲ ἀναγκάζουσιν[2] ἕκαστοτε λέγειν, οὐδὲν δεόμενοι τῶν λόγων, ἀλλ' ἑτέρου τινός· οὐδὲ γὰρ ἐκεῖνο δύναμαι ὑποκρίνεσθαι ὅτι ἀγνοοῦντες δὴ' καὶ ἀπόκοοι ὄντες ἐσπουδάκασιν, ὥσπερ ἀμελεῖ πολλοὶ πολλῶν διὰ τὴν ἄνοιαν ἐπιθυμοῦσιν· πάντες γὰρ ὡς ἔπος εἰπεῖν, τοὺς μὲν ἐμοὺς λόγους ἀποπτύουσι καὶ διαφέρουσιν αὐτοὺς ἄλλοι ἀλλαχοῦ, ὥσπερ τὰ φαῦλα σώματα οἱ παῖδες, ἐν ταῖς πόλεσιν ᾄδουσι τὸ πρὸς ἑσπέραν· καὶ τοὺς ἐμοὺς λόγους σχεδὸν πάντες ἀλλήλοις ἀπαγγέλλουσιν, οὐχ ὅτιοι ἐρρήθησαν, ἀλλ' ὅτι βελτίους ποιήσαντες κατὰ τὴν αὐτῶν δύναμιν, οἱ μὲν ἀκούσαντες ἐπανορθοῦνται καὶ

5 —δῆλον ὅτι αἰσχυνόμενοι τὸ μεμνῆσθαι τοιούτων— ἀλλάττοντες καὶ μετατιθέντες πολλὰ καὶ πρειττοῦν,

[1] ἢ added by Arpa.
[2] διαγκάζουσιν ἀναγκάζουσιν Cornel.
[3] μὴ Cornel. εἰ
[4] δὲ Emperius ἢ Rp.

[1] In his lectures books 28-30 and 32 of his *Historia Naturalis* is a catalogue of the medical uses to which animals

inexperience in simply everything, but especially in speaking, recognizing that I am only a layman. I am minded for the future to live the life of a layman; on the other hand, when I consider those who take me seriously and insist on my making a speech, I am compelled to feel suspicions of myself lest some quality of mine may after all be worth while, and without being aware of it, I may be in the same position as certain members of the animal kingdom, which though they are useful to mankind and have within them some power to cure diseases, whether it be a potency of bone or blood or fat or hair, are unaware of it, while human beings, aware of this power, pursue and try in every way to capture them, not for the sake of their meat, but for that power of theirs.

Perhaps, then, in my case too people are always trying to make me speak, not because they have any need of my speech, but of something else. For I cannot imagine they have shown such interest in me from being ignorant and from never having heard me, as many no doubt desire many things because of ignorance. For almost all men are acquainted with my speeches, and they distribute them broadcast in all directions, just as lads in the cities sing cheap ditties at eventide. Moreover, almost all report my speeches to one another, not as they were delivered, but after having made them still better in accordance with their own ability, some making improvements purposely and—evidently being ashamed to remember such stuff—introducing numerous changes and rearrangements by way of

may be put, beginning with the elephant and ending with marine life.

οἱ δὲ ἴσως καὶ ἄκοντες διὰ τὸ μὴ σφόδρα μεμνῆσθαι· ὥστε οὐκέτι ὀβολοῦ, καθάπερ εἴπέ τις, εὔπορον ἐκ τῆς ἀγορᾶς πρίασθαι τὴν ἐμὴν σοφίαν, ἀλλὰ κύφαντα ἀνελέσθαι χαμᾶθεν· σχεδὸν οὖν παραπλήσιον πεπόνθασιν οἱ ἐμοὶ λόγοι τῷ κεράμῳ τῷ Τενεδίῳ· καὶ γὰρ ἐκεῖθεν πᾶς μὲν ὁ παραπλέων ἐμβάλλεται κέραμον, οὐδεὶς δὲ ὑγιῆ διακομίζει ῥᾴδιως, ἀλλὰ[1] πολλοὶ σαθρὸν ποιήσαντες ἢ συντρίψαντες ὄστρακα ἔχοντες λανθάνουσιν αὐτούς.

[1] After ἀλλὰ Emperius adds οἱ

[1] Possibly a reminiscence of Plato, *Apology* 26 D, where Socrates, speaking of the writings of Anaxagoras, says ἃ

betterment, while others possibly do so unconsciously through not remembering very well. And so one no longer buys my wisdom from the market in abundant supply at an obol, as somebody has it,[1] but instead one merely stoops and plucks it from the ground. One might almost say, therefore, that my speeches have had much the same fate as the pottery of Tenedos; for while all who sail that way put on board pottery from there, yet no one finds it easy to *get* it across in sound condition; but many crack or smash it, and ere they are aware they have naught but sherds.

ἑξεστιν ἑνίοτε, εἰ παν πολλοῦ, δραχμῆς εν τῆς ἀρχήστρας πριαμένοις Σωκράτους καταγελῶν.

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sympathy for the disfranchised and under-privileged (cf. Or. 34. 21-23 and Or. 50. 9-5). It has been suggested that in the present instance he had displayed that sympathy by using his personal influence with Bassus during his proconsulship. If so, the malice of Dio's announced foe is understandable.

We have observed already that at the close of his remarks Dio professes to report certain charges on which he is to be tried. It is plain from the final sentence that these charges were to be aired in the argument to which our Discourse forms the prelude. However, Arnim points out that they really apply, not to Dio, but to his antagonist. Therefore, although we do not know clearly the business before the assembly when Dio is addressing, it may have concerned the attitude of Prusa toward an approaching trial of Bassus at Rome (cf. § 1). Possibly the journey which Dio says he must make (§ 8) is a journey to Rome for the purpose of influencing Trajan against Bassus, and Dio may have wished to carry with him some official message from Prusa.

48 ΠΟΛΙΤΙΚΟΣ ΕΝ ΤΗΙ ΠΑΤΡΙΔΙ

1 Λυδῷ, φασί, πράγματα οὐκ ἦν, ὁ δὲ ἐξελθὼν ἐπρίατο. οὐκοῦν ὁ μὲν Λυδὸς δικαίως πραγματα εἶχεν αὐτὸς ἐπιθυμήσας, ἐγω δὲ οὐκ ἐπιθυμῶν πράγματα ἔχω δι' οὐδὲν ἕτερον ὑπὸ ἀνθρωπων ἀδυνάτων[1] καὶ φθονερῶν ἢ ὅτι δοκῶ στέργειν ὑμᾶς καὶ τὰ μὲν εὖ πεποιηκα τὴν πατρίδα, ταῖς πρώταις ἴσην αὐτὴν ἀποδείξας τιμῆς ἕνεκα, τὰ[2] δὲ ποιήσω
2 θεοῦ διδόντος καὶ τοῦτο εἶπον οὐκ ἀλαζονευόμενος ἄλλως—αὐτοὶ γὰρ ἴστε οὐδεπώποτε ὑπὲρ τούτων μνησθέντα με ἐν τοσούτοις λόγοις οὓς εἴρηκα ἐν ὑμῖν—ἀλλ' ἀμυνόμενος τοὺς ἐμοὶ καὶ ὑμῖν βασκαίνοντας, ἵνα, ἐὰν μὲν δυνατὸν ἦ, διαρραγῶσιν, ὁ τῇ πόλει πάσῃ βέλτιστόν ἐστιν· εἰ δὲ μή, ἀλλ' οὐν[3] ἀδυνηθῶσιν· ὅτι δὲ οἱ αὐτοί[4] πρὸς ἐμὲ ἀηδῶς ἔχουσι καὶ πρὸς τὴν πόλιν αὐτοὶ μάρτυ-

[1] ἀδυνάτων] ἀξιωτῶν Herwerden.
[2] τὰ Morel: τά.
[3] ἀλλ' οὖν Emperius: μᾶλλον.
[4] οἱ αὐτοι Casaubon: αὐτοί.

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[1] Doubtless he refers to his efforts to beautify Prusa, a topic to which he frequently recurs in his Bithynia addresses, and also to the concessions which he had secured regarding Council and judiciary (cf. Or. 40. 15 and 55 and Or. 45. 7).

[2] Not strictly true unless the present speech antedates

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According to the fable, a Lydian had no troubles, but he went out and bought some. Very well, the Lydian deserved to have troubles, seeing that he himself desired them; as for myself, on the other hand, although I have no desire for troubles, I have them because of ineffectual, envious fellows for no other reason than that I am thought to be fond of you, and because I have already done some good turns to my native city, having raised it to the level of the leading cities in the matter of distinction[1] and, God willing, shall do it other good turns in the future. And I have said this, not as a bit of idle boasting for you know yourselves that I have never referred to these services of mine in all the many speeches I have delivered in your hearing[2] but rather in self-defence against those who eye with malice you and me, in order that, if such a thing is possible, they may burst with rage—which from the standpoint of the city as a whole is the best thing that could happen—or else that they may at least suffer pain. But that the same persons dislike me as dislike the city you yourselves can testify, if you

Or 40, 46, and 47. It is true, however, that he has not stressed his services unduly.

ρέτ ἐστε, ἐὰν θέλητε μεμνῆσθαι καὶ τῶν φιλοτίμων ὑμᾶς καὶ τῶν μισούντων· καίτοι ἐπιεικέστερον ἐμοὶ χρῶνται ἢ ὑμῖν· ἐμοῦ μὲν γὰρ ἐνθάδε κατηγοροῦσιν, ὑμῶν δὲ ἐπὶ τοῦ βήματος.

8 Ἐὰν οὖν Ἑλληνικοῖς, ὥσπερ εἴωθα, φαίνωμαι παραδείγμασι χρώμενος, μὴ καταγελάσητε· οὐ γὰρ καταφρονῶ τῆς πατρίδος, οὐδὲ ἀδυνάτους ὑμᾶς νομίζω αὐτοὺς συνιέναι τὰ τοιαῦτα, οὐδὲ ἀπαίδευτον νομίζω οὔτε τὸν δῆμον οὔτε τὴν βουλήν· μάλιστα μὲν οὖν ὑμᾶς βούλομαι τὸ ἦθος Ἑλληνικὸν ἔχειν καὶ μήτε ἀχαρίστους μήτε ἀξυνέτους εἶναι· εἰ δὲ μή, λόγων γε τοιούτων ἀκούειν οὐ χεῖρόν ἐστιν, ἐξ ὧν μοι δοκεῖτε καὶ τοῖς ἤθεσιν ἀμείνους ἂν γενέσθαι.

9 Τί δὴ οὖν τὸ παράδειγμα, ἣν τις ἄνθρωπος ἐν Θήβαις Ἐπαμεινώνδας λεγόμενος οὗτος ἐφίλει τὴν πατρίδα πάντων μάλιστα καιρῶν δι' ἐπιλαβόμενος οἷοι τότε ἦσαν, πολλὰ καὶ μεγάλα εὐεργέτησεν· ἀντὶ γὰρ δειλῶν καὶ ἀδυνάτων καὶ ἄλλοις ὑπακουόντων πρωτεῖα ἐποίησεν ἐν τοῖς Ἕλλησι καὶ τῆς ἡγεμονίας ἀντιποιεῖσθαι· τότε μὲν γὰρ ταῦτα ἦν δυνατά, νῦν δ' ἕτεροι γεγόνασιν οἱ καιροί· πλὴν τά γε τῆς εὐνοίας καὶ τῆς προθυμίας ἀεί ποτε ὅμοια. οἷ' γὰρ προδόται καὶ συκοφάνται καὶ πάντα

[1] εἶναι added by Reiske.
[2] ἀεί ποτε ὅμοια ed. Reiske: ἀεί ποτε ὅμοιοι L B, ἀ εἶναι ὅμοιοι M.

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[1] An indication that he is speaking in Assembly and not in court.

[2] Dio not infrequently draws upon Greek tradition to point a moral, as will be seen by referring to indices of this and preceding volumes. That he was conscious that by so

care to recollect both those who love and those who hate you. And yet they treat me more fairly than they treat you; for they accuse me here, whereas they accuse you from the witness-box.[1]

Now if I am seen to enjoy illustrations from Greek history, as is my habit, don't jeer at me. For I am not showing scorn for my fatherland, nor do I suppose you to be incapable of [illegible] such matters for yourselves, nor do I regard either Asclepiades or Cosmos as ignorant. Therefore I desire most of all that you should have the character which is Greek and [illegible] neither ungraceful nor unintelligent; but if that is asking too much, it is at least not a bad plan to listen to words which, in my opinion, might improve your character.[1]

Very well, then, what is my illustration? There was a certain man in Thebes called Epaminondas[2]; he loved his country above all else, and using such opportunities as existed at that period, he performed for it many great services. For, instead of the craven, helpless, subservient people they had been, he made them foremost among the Greeks and contenders for leadership. For in those days these things were possible, whereas to-day the times are different, though of course goodness and devotion are always the same. For the breed of traitors and informers and persons who do anything to harm their

doing he might be thought to [illegible] a sense of earning [illegible] not only from this passage, but from others, e.g., Or. 50. 9.

[1] In spite of the rhetorical bouquet thrown to the people of [illegible] these words [illegible] make one wonder how much they really knew about [illegible]

[2] Thebes was leader in Greece from Leuctra to Mantinea (371–362 B.C.).

πράττοντες κατὰ τῶν πολιτῶν καὶ τότε ἦσαν ἐν ταις πόλεσι καὶ μηδ' οἱ φιλοῦντες τας πατρίδας καὶ τους πολιτας τους αὐτῶν μηδὲν κακὸν πάσχειν ἐθέλοντες καὶ τὰς πατρίδας αὔξειν φιλοτιμουμενοι τότε μὲν πολλοὶ καὶ μεγαλα πραττοντες νῦν δὲ ελαττους· καὶ ἐλαττω ποιεῖν ἀγαθὰ δυναμενοι.

5 Ὁ δ' οὖν Ἐπαμεινώνδας ἐκεινος ὑπο των ἀνομοίων ἐμισεῖτο καὶ τινες ἦσαν οἱ διαβαλλοντες αὐτον· ὁ δὲ δῆμος ὡς δημος ἠγνοει καὶ ἀνεπειθετο, καὶ ποτε των ἀπεγνωσμένων τις καὶ ατιμων καὶ ὑπο ἐδουλευεν ἡ πολις καὶ ἐτυραννεῖτο πολυ κατ' αὐτῆς πεποιηκως· ἐν ἐκκλησιᾳ τον Ἐπαμεινωνδαν ἐλοιδορει, καὶ πολλα καὶ χαλεπά ἔλεγε· πας γαρ ὁ ψευδομενος· οὐχ ὅ τι ἀληθες εἴπῃ ζητεῖ, μηδὲν γε ἀληθες λέγειν δυνάμενος, ἀλλ' εἴ τι χαλεπόν· καὶ αὐτος ἐπανασας περὶ μεν τῶν ἄλλων οὐκ εἶπεν οὐδ' ἀπελογηθη πρὸς οὐδεν, μόνον δὲ προς ἐκεῖνον, τῇ δ' αὐτοῦ φωνῇ βοωντα ιων, Ἄλλα τοι Δαμάτηρ, ἔφη, κεχολωμένα γένοιτο· οἱ δὲ Θηβαιοι ακουσαντες ἤσθησαν καὶ ἐγελασαν εἰκότως, ἀναμνησθεντες, οἶμαι, τῆς ἐκεινου προς τὸν δῆμον εὐνοιας καὶ τοῦ λοιδορουντος τῆς συ-
6 κοφαντιας· ἐγω γοῦν, εἴ τις λεγοι προς ἐμὲ ἀναξιον ἐμοῦ εἴτε ὠνταρις εἴτε καὶ μετὰ σχηματος ἵνα δοκῇ ῥήτωρ, καὶ ταῦτα οὐκ ὢν εὐτυχημων αὐτός, αποκρινοῦμαι αὐτῷ τὴν τοῦ Ἐπαμεινωνδου ἀπόκρισιν.

[1] μὲν οἱ Cappa, μὲν Arnim νῦν.
[2] νῦν δὲ ἐλαττους added by Reiske.
[3] πεποιηκως] πεποιηκοτων Wilamowitz.
[4] φιλοῦντες] τοιοῦτοι Arnim. [5] αὐτου Arnim] αὐτοῦ.

fellow citizens existed in the cities even then, moreover, while patriots and men who do not wish their fellow citizens to suffer any harm and who are ambitious to exalt their country were plentiful then and performed mighty deeds, they are fewer now and not able to perform as many noble deeds.

However that may be, the famous Epaminondas was hated by those who were out for him and there were some who maligned him, and the common people—as the common people are—did not understand and were misled. And on one occasion one of the desperate disfranchised group, a fellow who had done anything to injure him, he says when it was in slavery and ruled by a dictator, abused Epaminondas in town meeting and said many harsh things—for every man who is a liar seems to discover, not what he can say that is true, being unable to say anything but a true lie, but whatever comes to his tongue. Now when Epaminondas himself arose to take the floor, he did not speak regarding the other matters, nor did he defend himself against a single charge, but he merely said to his accuser, speaking in his own Boeotian dialect: May Demeter be wroth with you! But the Thebans on hearing that were delighted and burst into laughter, as well they might, recalling, I suspect, the friendliness of Epaminondas toward the people and the scurvy conduct of the man who was trying to vilify him. Accordingly, if a certain person should say to me something I do not deserve, whether in plain terms or in figurative language to win renown as an orator, though his own figure is far from comely,* I shall use toward him the reply of Epaminondas.

* Due to pounding on sycophants and sycophants.

Εὖ δ' ἴστε ὅτι ταῦτα ποιοῦσι καὶ λέγουσι βαρυνόμενοι τὴν ἐμὴν ἐπίδημιαν δι' ἄλλο μὲν οὐδὲν οὔτε γὰρ ἀνδρείῳ τινὰ τῶν πολιτῶν οὔτ' ἀργύριον λαμβάνω παρὰ τινος οὔτε δασμολογεῖν ἕτοιμος εἰμι τὴν χώραν τὴν ὑμετέραν οὔτ' ἐν τῇ ἀγορᾷ φαινομαί τινι ὀχλήρος· οὐ γὰρ εἰμι ῥήτωρ· οὐδὲ εἶπον ὑπὲρ οὐδενὸς ἢ ἑνὸς ἀνθρώπου δυστυχοῦς, ὃν ἐκώλυσα ὑπὸ τῶν συγγενῶν καὶ τῶν ἐπιτρόπων διασπασθῆναι, πρότερον μὲν αὐτοῦ τὰ χρήματα ὑφηρημένων καὶ πολλὰ τῆς οὐσίας διηρπακότων, ὕστερον δὲ κατα-
7 ψευδομαρτυρούντων· ἄλλην δὲ οὐδεμίαν εἴρηκα δίκην, ὥστε δι' οὐδὲν οὐδενὶ βαρύς εἰμι· ἀλλ' ἴσως, ἐάν ποτε γένηται καιρός, οἷον εὔχονταί τινες, ὅμοιος τῷ[1] πρότερον, οἷος οὐκ ἔσται· πλὴν εἰ γένοιτο, ἵνα μὴ παρὰ τῷ δήμῳ μηδὲ ἔξουσιν οἱ συκοφαντοῦμενοι τὸν παραιτούμενον ἢ συναλγοῦντα· καὶ διὰ τοῦτο δυσκόλως ἐμὲ φέρει τις ἐπιδημοῦντα· καὶ γὰρ εἰ πλείους ἦσαν, ὥσπερ εἰσίν, οὐδεὶς ἐμοῦ φήσει μᾶλλον· ἐγὼ δὲ ἔχω παρρησίαν πρὸς ὑμᾶς ἣν οὐδεὶς· τῆς μὲν γὰρ εὐτυχίας τῆς ἐμαυτοῦ παρεχώρησα ὑμῖν, τῆς δὲ δυστυχίας τῆς

[1] ὅμοιος τῷ Sieklen: ὅμοιος τῶν L B, ὅμοιος τῶν M.
[2] καὶ διὰ τοῦτο ... ἐπιδημοῦντα placed by Arnim after μετέβαλον (top of p. 182), as being misplaced in its present setting. Wilamowitz would delete καὶ.

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[1] See Introduction.
[2] The young man is otherwise unknown.
[3] The crisis probably occurred in the proconsulship of Bassus. At that time Dio seems to have defended certain members of the commons in town meeting. His confidence as to the future suggests that he has used his influence with Trajan, or else is about to do so.

But rest assured that they do and say these things because they are irked at my presence here in Prusa,[1] and for no other reason; for I do not lie in wait for any of the citizens, nor do I take pay from anybody, nor do I stand ready to levy tribute on your country, nor do I make myself a nuisance to anyone in the market-place; for I am no orator, nor have I defended anyone in court, save one luckless fellow alone, whom I saved from being torn to pieces by his kinsmen and guardians, after they had first stolen his documents and pillaged much of his estate and afterwards tried by false witness to ruin him; but I have spoken in no other case at law, so that I am in no respect offensive to any one. No, it is with the purpose, thus in case a crisis ever arises such as certain persons pray for, a crisis similar to that earlier one, the kind that is not going to arise, but supposing that it should, the purpose is, I say, to prevent my being present to aid the commons, and to insure that the victims of blackmail shall not even have any one to intercede for them or to express sympathy for them; that, I repeat, is why a certain person is incensed that I am here in Prusa. For if there were several to assume that role, as indeed there are, no one would speak more readily than I, and I can speak to you more frankly than any one else. The reason is that I have both sacrificed for you my own good fortune[1] and also shared with you

[1] On several occasions Dio speaks of sacrificing his own interests to the welfare of the [illegible] in order to devote his business to the neglect of his own property, e.g. (Or. 47. 8). But here he may well be referring to his recent visit at the court of Trajan, when he neglected to make personal capital out of the Emperor's friendship, in order to secure favours for Prusa (Or. 45. 2).

8 ὑμετέρας μετέλαβον καὶ νῦν δεῖ με ἀποδημεῖν, οὐχ ὡς πρότερον ἀλύπως, πάντων με ἀγαπώντων καὶ θαυμαζόντων, ἀλλὰ μετ' ἐχθρας τινῶν ἐπεὶ αὐτός γε οὐδὲν ἔπαθον κακόν

οὐ γὰρ πώποτ' ἐμὰς βοῦς ἤλασαν οὐδὲ μεν ἵππους

Οὐ μέντοι θαυμάζω τὰ παρόντα πράγματα ἐπεὶ καὶ Σωκράτης ἐκεῖνος, οὗ μέμνημαι πολλάκις, ἐν μὲν τῇ τυραννίδι τῶν τριάκοντα ἔπραττε πάντα ὑπὲρ τοῦ δήμου καὶ τῶν κακῶν οὐδενὸς ἐκοινωνησεν, ἀλλὰ καὶ πεμφθεὶς ὑπ' αὐτῶν ἐπὶ Λέοντα τὸν Σαλαμίνιον οὐχ ὑπήκουσε, καὶ τοῖς τυραννοις ἀντικρυς ἐλοιδορεῖτο, λέγων ὁμοίους εἶναι τοῖς πονηροῖς βουκόλοις, οἳ παραλαβοντες ἰσχυρας τας βοῦς καὶ πολλας, ὀλιγας καὶ ασθενεστέρας ποιοῦ-
9 σιν ἀλλ' ὅμως ὑπὸ τοῦ δήμου, δι' ὃν ἐκινδύνευεν, ὕστερον εὖ πράττοντος διαβληθεὶς ὑπὸ συκοφαντῶν τινων ἀπέθανεν ἦν δὲ ὁ κατήγορος Μέλητος, βδέλυρος ἄνθρωπος καὶ συκοφάντης Ἀδικεῖ, φησί, Σωκρατης, τοὺς νεους διαφθείρων καὶ οὓς μὲν ἡ πόλις θεοὺς τιμᾷ μὴ τιμων, ἕτερα δὲ εἰσάγων καινὰ δαιμόνια σχεδὸν αὐτὰ τἀναντία[2] οἷς ἐποίει
10 Σωκρατης ἐτίμα τε γὰρ τοὺς θεοὺς ὡς οὐδεὶς

[1] βοῦς Dindorf : βόας.
[2] τἀναντία Dindorf : ταῦτα ἐναντία.

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[1] Presumably his journey to Rome to congratulate Trajan, A.D. 100.

[2] *Iliad* I. 154, spoken by Achilles to Agamemnon. This quotation is an indication that the coming journey to which he has just referred involved no selfish interest. It seems likely that Dio planned to go to Rome to use his influence against Basus and his henchman in the trial which was soon

your ill fortune. And now I must leave my country, not, as on that other occasion[1] without repining, attended as I then was by the affection and adoration of all, but rather attended by the enmity of some, since I myself have suffered no harm,

For never did they lift my cows or mares.[2]

However, I am not surprised at my present troubles, since even the famous Socrates, whom I have often mentioned, during the tyranny of the Thirty[3] did everything in behalf of the people and took no part in the crimes of that régime, but when ordered by the Thirty to fetch Leon of Salamis, he refused to obey, and he openly reviled the tyrants, saying they were like wicked herdsmen, who, having received the cows when strong and numerous, made them few and weaker[4]; but nevertheless it was by the government of the people, on whose account he then risked his life, that later on when that government was flourishing, because he had been slandered by certain informers, he was put to death.[5] Now his accuser was Meletus, a loathsome fellow and a liar too. Said he: "Socrates is guilty of corrupting the young men and of not honouring the deities whom the city honours but of introducing other new divinities."[6]—virtually the very opposite to what Socrates was wont to do. For not only did he

to take place. That would account for the phrase "attended by the enmity of some."

[1] 401 B.C.

[2] Plato, *Apology* 32 c-D, records the Leon episode. The reprieve of the Thirty is given by Xenophon, *Memorabilia* I. 2. 32.

[3] 399 B.C.

[4] This version of the charge is nearly identical with *Apology* 24 B.

[5] Dio's version of the charge is nearly identical with *Apology* 24 B.

ἄλλος καὶ παιᾶνα ἐποίησεν εἰς τὸν Ἀπόλλω καὶ τὴν Ἄρτεμιν, τοῦτον ὃν ἐγὼ ἔτι καὶ νῦν ᾄδω,[1] καὶ τοὺς νέους ἐκώλυε διαφθείρεσθαι οὐ μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοὺς πρεσβυτέρους ὀνειδίζων καὶ προφέρων αὐτοῖς, εἴ τις ἄπληστος ἢ ἀκόλαστος ἢ τὰ τῆς πόλεως ἠργολάβει, τοὺς μὲν ἀπολύων ἐπ' ἀργυρίῳ, τοὺς δὲ συκοφαντῶν, τοὺς δὲ νησιώτας τοὺς ταλαιπώρους λεηλατῶν ἐπὶ προφάσει φόρων ἢ καταλογῇ στρατιωτῶν, ὥσπερ ἔνιοι ποιοῦσι νῦν ἡμῖν. διὰ ταῦτα μισοῦντες αὐτὸν ἔφασαν διαφθείρειν τοὺς νέους

11 Ἡ δ' ἐμὴ γραφὴ μειζων καὶ γενναιοτέρα σχεδὸν ἦν, κρυφαία[4] τις, ὡς ἔοικεν Ἀδικεῖ Δίων, τοὺς μὲν θεοὺς μὴ τιμῶν μήτ' ἐν θυσίαις μήτ' ἐν ὕμνοις, καταλύων τας πατρίους ἑορτάς, ἀναπείσας δὲ ἡγεμόνα πονηρὸν ὥστε τὸν μὲν δῆμον βασανίσαι καὶ ἐξελάσαι ὅσους δι δύνηται πλείστους, ἐνίους δὲ καὶ ἀποκτεῖναι, παρασχὼν ἀνάγκην αὐτοῖς ἑκουσίως ἀποθανεῖν διὰ τὸ μὴ δύνασθαι πρεσβυτας ὄντας φυγεῖν μηδε ὑπομένειν καταλιπεῖν τὴν πατρίδα συμπράττων δὲ[5] καὶ νῦν ἅπαντα τῷ τυραννήσαντι τοῦ ἔθνους,[6] καὶ ὅπως ἐκεῖνος καλῶς ἀγωνεῖται

[1] ἔτι καὶ added by Capps
[2] τοῦτον ᾄδω deleted by Emperius.
[3] ἐπ' Vanesius ἐν
[4] κρυφαία] κρύφα M κορυφαία Morel.
[5] δὲ Reiske τε.
[6] τοῦ ἔθνους Arn m τοὺς θεοὺς.

[1] Diogenes Laertius (2. 5. 28) preserves a single line from a hymn in which these deities are named, and says that Dionysodorus denied that Socrates was its author.

honour the gods more than did anybody else, but he had composed a hymn in praise of Apollo and Artemis, this paean which even now I myself am wont to chant,' and he tried to prevent, not merely the young men, but their elders too, from being corrupted, reviling and exposing them, in case any one was greedy or luxurious or tried to make money out of politics, some by arranging an assignment for a bribe, some by blackmailing people, and some by pillaging the wretched islanders in the pretext of tribute[1] or in connexion with the drafting of soldiers, just as some one are doing in Prusa. This is why they hated him and cast us, he was corrupting the young men.

But my bill of indictment[2] was longer and, one might say, wilder, a sort of occult bill, apparently. Thus in the first place of not honouring the gods either with sacrifices or with hymns, by abolishing the festivals of our fathers, secondly of so increasing a wicked procession[3] as to cause him to torture the people and to banish as many as possible, and even to put some to death, making it necessary for them to die a voluntary death because, old as they were, they could not go into exile or endure to abandon their native land, thirdly of co-operating in everything even now with the man who took the rôle of tyrant over our nation, and of arranging, so far as it is in his power to arrange, that that tyrant shall be suc-

[1] A scholiast on Aristophanes, *Acharnians* 8 reports that Cleon was detected at least twice and made to disgorge. Presumably [illegible] of some of the [illegible] states [illegible] was the [illegible] term applied [illegible] with Athens in the fifth century B.C.

[2] See Introduction.

[3] Presumably Rome. See Introduction.

καὶ κατὰ κράτος παραλήψεται τὰς πόλεις καὶ τοὺς δήμους κατασκευάζων, ὅσον ἐστὶν ἐπ' αὐτῷ κατα-
12 σκευάζειν διαφθείρων δὲ καὶ τὸν δῆμον αὐτὸν[1] ἐφιστάμενος κατήγορος καὶ τοῖς αὐτοῦ ῥήμασι καὶ τῇ γλώττῃ παρανομῶν εἰς τοὺς πολίτας, εἰς τοὺς δημότας, καὶ πολλὰ ἕτερα ποιῶν ἃ αἰσχύνομαι καθ' ἕκαστον λέγειν· πονηρὸν δὲ παράδειγμα παρέχων ἑαυτὸν καὶ νεωτέροις καὶ πρεσβυτέροις ἀπονίας[2] καὶ τρυφῆς[3] καὶ ἀπιστίας· δεκάζων δὲ τὸ πλῆθος, ἵνα μηδεὶς αὐτῷ προφέρῃ τὰ τότε πραχθέντα, ἀλλὰ τοῦ μίσους καὶ τῆς ἐπιβουλῆς λήθην τινὰ ποιήσωνται

Φέρε δὴ πρὸς ταῦτα ἀπολογήσομαι, ὦ ἄνδρες Προυσαεῖς, κἂν δοκῇ ὑμῖν ἀκούσασι, κατεψηφίσασθέ μου καὶ γὰρ τοῦ Σωκράτους οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι ἀκούσαντες κατεψηφίσαντο.

[1] αὐτὸν Crosby : αὐτὸς. [2] ἀπονίας Geel ἀπορίας.
[3] τρυφῆς Reiske : τροφῆς.

[1] Apparently the henchman of Bassus is trying to marshal

cessful in his struggle and shall take by force the cities and their popular governments[1], fourthly, of spoiling even democracy itself, setting himself up as its accuser, and with his own words and tongue committing crimes against his fellow citizens, yes, the members of his own community, and doing many other things which I am ashamed to specify; fifthly, of making himself a bad example of laziness and high-living and faithlessness for both young and old, and sixthly, of bribing the masses, so that no one may reproach him with what was done in those days,[2] but that people may instead acquire a sort of forgetfulness of his hatred and treachery.

Well then, men of Prusa, I shall defend myself against these charges,[3] and if it seems good to you when you have heard me, condemn me, for the Athenians heard Socrates before they condemned him.

in defence of his master as many Bithynians as possible. The language here used by Dio is manifestly figurative.

[1] I.e., in the proconsulship of Bassus.

[2] As in the case of the charges which Dio disclaims in § 6, this bill of indictment also may be assumed to apply, not to Dio, but to his arch-enemy.

THE FORTY FOURTH DISCOURSE: AN ADDRESS OF FRIENDSHIP FOR HIS NATIVE LAND ON ITS PROPOSING HONOURS FOR HIM

[illegible]

44 ΦΙΛΟΦΡΟΝΗΤΙΚΟΣ ΠΡΟΣ ΤΗΝ ΠΑΤΡΙΔΑ ΕΙΣΗΓΟΥΜΕΝΗΝ ΑΥΤΩΙ ΤΙΜΑΣ

1 Ἐμοί, ὦ ἄνδρες πολῖται, οὔτε ὄψις ἡδίων ἐστὶ τῆς ὑμετέρας οὔτε φωνὴ προσφιλεστέρα οὔτε τιμαὶ μείζους τῶν ἐνθάδε οὔτε ἔπαινος λαμπρότερος ἢ ὁ παρ' ὑμῶν· οὐδ' ἂν ξύμπαντες οἱ Ἕλληνες, πρὸς δὲ αὐτοῖς ὁ Ῥωμαίων δῆμος, ἐμὲ θαυμάζωσι καὶ ἐπαινῶσιν, οὐκ ἂν οὕτως τοῦτο εὐφράναι τὴν ἐμὴν διάνοιαν· τῷ γὰρ ὄντι πολλὰ σοφὰ καὶ θεῖα εἰρηκὼς Ὅμηρος οὐδὲν σοφώτερον ἔφη τούτου τοῦ ἔπους οὐδὲ ἀληθέστερον,

ὡς οὐδὲν γλύκιον ἧς πατρίδος

2 εὖ μέντοι ἐπίστασθε ὅτι τὰς τιμὰς ἔχω πάσας, καὶ ὅσας νῦν εἰσηγεῖσθε καὶ εἴ τινες ἄλλαι εἰσίν, ἐν τῇ ὑμετέρᾳ εὐνοίᾳ καὶ φιλίᾳ καὶ οὐδενὸς ἄλλου ἐγὼ δέομαι· τοῦτο γὰρ ἀνθρώπῳ ἱκανώτατον ἐπιεικεῖ, τὸ ἀγαπᾶσθαι ὑπὸ τῶν αὐτοῦ πολιτῶν, καὶ ὁ τοῦτο ἔχων τί ἂν ἔτι προσδέοιτο εἰκόνων ἢ κηρυγμάτων ἢ προεδριῶν;[1] ἀλλ' οὐδὲ χρυσοῦς σφυρήλατος

[1] At this point Arnim suspects a lacuna, which he would supply by some such phrase as οὐδὲ γὰρ πλέον ἂν ἔχοι οὐδὲν ἀπὸ τούτων.

THE FORTY-FOURTH DISCOURSE: AN ADDRESS OF FRIENDSHIP FOR HIS NATIVE LAND ON ITS PROPOSING HONOURS FOR HIM

Fellow citizens, no sight is more delightful to me than your faces, no voice dearer than yours, no honours greater than those you bestow, no praise more splendid than praise from you. Even if the whole Greek world, and the Roman people too, were to admire and to praise me, that would not so cheer my heart.[1] For though, in truth, Homer has spoken many wise and divine words, he never spoke a wiser or a truer word than this

For naught is sweeter than one's native land.[2]

Indeed, you may rest assured that I find all my honours, both those you now propose and any others there may be, contained in your goodwill and friendship, and I need naught else. For it is quite sufficient for a reasonable human being to be loved by his own fellow citizens, and why should the man who has that love need statues too or proclamations or seats of honour? Nay, not even if it be a portrait statue of beaten gold set up in the most distinguished

[1] He had been honoured at Rome and in many other cities. Cf. Or. 41. 9 and 44. 6.
[2] *Odyssey* 9: 34.

ἱστάμενος ἐν τοῖς ἐπιφανεστάτοις ἱεροῖς· ἓν γὰρ ῥῆμα πλείονος ἄξιον ἀπ' εὐνοίας ῥηθὲν καὶ φιλίας ἢ τὸ ξύμπαν ἐν ἀνθρώποις χρυσίον καὶ στέφανοι καὶ τὰ ἄλλα, ὅσα δοκεῖ λαμπρά· ὥστε μοι πειθομένοι οὕτω ποιεῖτε.

3 Εἰ δὲ ἄρα καὶ τοιαύτας τινὰς δεῖ με τιμὰς ἔχειν, πολλαί μοι καὶ ἄλλαι εἰσὶ παρ' ὑμῶν, τοῦτο μὲν αἱ τοῦ πατρὸς τοῦ ἐμοῦ, ὅσαις ἐκεῖνον ἐτιμήσατε ὡς ἄνδρα ἀγαθὸν καὶ ὅσον ἔζη χρόνον δικαίως προεστῶτα τῆσδε τῆς πόλεως, τοῦτο δὲ τῆς μητρός, ἧς ὑμεῖς ἱδρύσασθε καὶ ἄγαλμα καὶ ἱερόν, τοῦτο δὲ αἱ τῶν παππων καὶ αἱ τῶν ἄλλων προγόνων, ἔτι 4 δὲ αἱ τῶν ἀδελφῶν καὶ τῶν ἄλλων συγγενῶν. καὶ γὰρ ἀνδριάντας πολλοὺς καὶ ταφὰς δημοσίας καὶ ἀγῶνας ἐπιταφίους καὶ ἄλλα πολλὰ καὶ τίμια[1] ἐκείνοις παρὰ τῆσδε τῆς πόλεως γέγονεν—ὧν[2] οὐδένος ἐγὼ ἐπιλέλησμαι, ἀλλὰ ἐπίσταμαι πάντα ὡς οἷόν τε μάλιστα—καὶ οἶμαι τὰς ὑπὲρ τούτων χάριτας αὐτος ὑμῖν ὀφείλειν, καὶ εὔχομαι τοῖς θεοῖς ἱκανὸς γενέσθαι ἀποτίνειν· πολλοῦ[3] μὲν γὰρ ἐπίσταμαι κἀκείνους γενομένους ἀξίους καὶ δικαίως ἁπάντων τυχόντας, ὅμως δὲ ἐν ἅπασιν ὑπερέβαλεν

[1] After τίμια Arnim adds ἃ. [2] ὧν deleted by Arnim.
[3] πολλοῦ Casaubon: πολλοὺς.

[1] The phrase "of beaten gold" shows that Dio is thinking of the famous golden statue said to have been dedicated by Cypselus, tyrant of Corinth, at Olympia. That statue was referred to by Plato, *Phaedrus* 236 a, and by many later writers. According to one account, Cypselus vowed that if he became tyrant of Corinth he would consecrate the wealth of his subjects for ten years, and out of the tithes he secured

shrines.[1] For one word spoken out of goodwill and friendship is worth all the gold and crowns and everything else deemed splendid that men possess; so take my advice and act accordingly.

But if really I must have some real honours also, I have here at Prusa many other honours already—in the first place those bestowed upon my father,[2] those honours bestowed upon him for being a good citizen and for administering the city with uprightness as long as he lived; then too those belonging to my mother, in whose memory you not only set up a statue but also established a shrine; furthermore, the honours bestowed upon my grandsires[3] and my other ancestors, and more than that, the honours possessed by my brothers[4] and other kinsmen. For numerous statues and state funerals and funeral games and many other precious marks of distinction have been accorded them by this city—none of which have I forgotten, nay, I know them as well as any man could—and I feel that I myself owe you the thanks for these honours, and I pray the gods I may be able to discharge the debt. For though I know they proved themselves very worthy and had a right to all they received, still the city was more than generous

he made a statue of Zeus and set it up in the temple of Hera. The dedicatory inscription ran as follows:

> [illegible]
> [illegible]

[1] A surprising honour, of which nothing further is known.

[2] There is no mention of his grandfather, but we get especial information about the maternal grandfather alone, of whom he says: "He was a man of [illegible] spirited, generous, and a friend of an earlier emperor." Or 41. 4, 44. 5, 46. 1, 4, and 50. 7.

[3] Nothing further is known of these brothers.

ἡ πόλις· καὶ γὰρ ὅσα οὐκ ἐδυνήθησαν βουληθέντες
διὰ τύχην τινά· καὶ τούτων αὐτοῖς χάριν ἀπεδίδου
5 ἡ πατρίς. ὁ γοῦν πάππος ὁ ἐμός, εἰ ἐπὶ πλεῖον
ἀπώνατο τῆς φιλίας τοῦ τοτε αὐτοκράτορος, ἀλλὰ
μὴ βραχὺς παντελῶς ἐγένετο δ' χρόνος, διενοεῖτο,
ὥς φασιν, ἐλευθερίαν τῇ πόλει λαβεῖν καὶ ἤδη περὶ
τούτου ἐποιεῖτο τὸν λόγον· οὐ δεῖ δὲ ἀπελπίζειν,
ἕως ἂν ἀγαθοὺς καὶ φιλοτίμους ἄνδρας ἡ πόλις
φέρῃ ὁποίους καὶ τοὺς νῦν· ἐγὼ γὰρ ἐν πολλαῖς
γεγονὼς πόλεσιν οὐκ οἶδα βελτίους ἄνδρας τῶν
παρ' ὑμῖν.

Ἔλεγον δ' ἂν ἐπὶ πλέον καθ' ἕκαστον, εἰ μὴ
σχεδὸν ἅπαντας συγγενεῖς ὄντας ὤκνουν ἐπαινεῖν,
καὶ ὥσπερ ἔρανον τινὰ ἀποδιδοὺς τῶν εἰς ἐμαυτὸν
6 ἕνεκα τιμῶν· ἠκροασάμην γὰρ δὴ καὶ τούτων
καίτοι σφόδρα αἰδούμενος ὅμως διὰ τοὺς λέγοντας
αὐτοὺς, ἀγαμαίνος τῶν ἀνδρῶν τό τε ἄφθονον καὶ
τὴν προθυμίαν, ἔτι δὲ τὴν περὶ τὸ εἰπεῖν δύναμιν·
οὐ δὴ θαυμαστόν, εἰ ἐγὼ πατρίδα τοιαύτην οὕτω
σφόδρα ἠγάπηκα ὥστε οὔτ' ἂν Ἀθήνας οὔτε
Ἄργος οὔτε Λακεδαίμονα, αἵπερ εἰσὶ πρῶται καὶ
ἐνδοξόταται τῶν Ἑλληνίδων, εἰλόμην ἂν εἶναί μοι
πατρίδας πρὸ ταύτης· καὶ τοῦτο ἔργῳ ἐδήλωσα·
πολλῶν γὰρ πολλάκις παρακαλούντων με καὶ μένειν
καὶ προΐστασθαι τῶν κοινῶν οὐ νῦν μόνον, ἀλλὰ
καὶ πρότερον, ὅτε ἤμην φυγας—καὶ ψηφίσματα

[1] ὁ added by Reiske. [2] ἐν δὴ Pflugk: οὐδὲ.
[3] After καὶ Arnim adds γὰρ.

[1] Cf. § 19.
[2] Apparently speakers who have supported the proposal to honour him.

ous in each instance. For their fatherland thanked them ever for all they wished, but through some turn of fortune proved unable to accomplish. For example, if my grandfather had enjoyed the friendship of the emperor of that day for a longer period and if the time left to him had not been altogether brief, he had in mind, as I am told, to obtain independence for Prusa,* and indeed he had already drafted the plan to that end. However, there is no need to abandon hope so long as the city continues to bear in her people men such as those it bears to-day. For, though I have been in many cities, I do not know better men than the men of Prusa.

Now I might go on to speak at some length of individuals, were it not that since virtues are, as we see, I shrink from the task of praising them, even though I should be making to each and all a contribution, as it were, due in return for the honours paid to me. For, indeed, I have listened to these men too, though greatly awed on account of the speakers themselves, admiring their generosity and their devotion and, what is more, their gift of eloquence. No wonder, then, if I myself have loved such a fatherland so greatly that I would not have chosen either Athens or Argos or Sparta, the foremost and most distinguished of the Greek cities, as my native land in preference to Prusa, and I have given practical demonstration of this too. For although many people in many lands have invited me both to make my home with them and to take charge of their public affairs, not merely at the present time, but even earlier, at the time when I was an exile—and some went so far as to send the

* I.e., as well as his ancestors and relatives.

ἐπεμφάνη τινὲς πρὸς τὸν αὐτοκράτορα χάριν εἰδότες τῆς εἰς ἐμὲ τιμῆς οὐδὲ πώποτε ἄχρι λόγου τὸ τοιοῦτον ὑπεσχόμην· ἀλλ' οὐδ' εἰκαίαν ἢ χωρίον ἐκτησάμην παρ' ἑτέρου, ὡς μηδὲν ἧττον καὶ σημεῖον ἀλλαχοῦ πατρίδος.

7 Καὶ γὰρ ἂν εἴη δικαίως, εἰ οἱ ἄνθρωποι αἰκιωτέροι ἔσονται τῶν μελιττῶν· οὐδέποτε γὰρ ἐκείνων μία καταλιποῦσα τὸ αὐτῆς σμῆνος εἰς ἕτερον μετέστη τὸ μεῖζον ἢ μᾶλλον εὐθηνοῦν, ἀλλὰ τὸν ἴδιον ἐρημὸν πληροῖ τε καὶ πάλιν κἂν ψυχροτέρου ἢ τὸ χωρίον καὶ αἱ νομαὶ χείρονες καὶ ἡ δρυὸς ἐλάττων κἂν δυσκολώτερον τὸ ἔργον τὸ περὶ τὰ κηρία· κἂν ὁ γεώργος ἀμελέστερος· οὕτως δὲ ἄγαν αὐτὰς φασι φίλους ἀλλήλας καὶ τὸν ἴδιον σμῆνος ἑκάστην, ὥστε ἐπειδὰν ἴδῃ χειμῶνος ἀπολήψεσθαι πολλοῦ γενομένου πνεύματος λίθον εἰς τὴν κώδωνα ἐκκυνῇ λιβίκινα ὥσπερ ἅρμα αὐτῶν πεποιῆται, ὅπως μὴ παρενεχθῶσιν ὑπὸ τοῦ πνεύματος μηδὲ τοῦ σμήνους διαμάρτωσιν.

8 Ὅταν δὲ δὴ καὶ προθύμως οὕτως καὶ ἀγαθὴν ἔχῃ τις πατρίδα πῶς οὐ χρὴ πάντα τἄλλα περὶ ἐλαττόνων ποιεῖσθαι ταύτης, ἃ ἔγωγε λογιζόμενος χαίρω, ὁρῶν καὶ τὸν υἱὸν τὸν ἐμαυτοῦ καὶ τὸν ἀδελφιδοῦν καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους πανοικεσίαν—πολλοὺς δὲ ὁρῶ σὺν θεῷ καὶ ἅπαντας ἀγαθῶν γονέων καὶ τό γε εἶδος ἀγαθοῖς ὁμοίους—οὕτως διακοσμοῦνται ὡς φιλο-

[1] ἀχρὶ F: μετὰ [illegible] γρ. [illegible]

[2] Νῦν δὲ [illegible] Meziriac would cure the trouble by reading [illegible] for χειμῶνος. Young [illegible] τῆς μελιττῶν. Emperius regards πολλοῦ πνεύματος as a gloss.

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[1] If this Discourse has been dated correctly, the Emperor

Emperor resolutions thanking him for the honour he had done me! yet I never accepted such a proposal even by so much as a single word, but I did not even acquire a house or a plot of ground anywhere else, so that I might have nothing to suggest a home land anywhere but here.

For indeed it would be shocking if human beings are to prove more unjust than bees. For no bee ever abandons its own hive and shifts to another which is larger or more thriving, but it tends and strengthens its own swarm, no matter if the district be colder, the pasturage poorer, the nectar scantier, the work connected with the honeycomb more difficult, and the farmer more neglectful. But, according to report, so great is their love for one another and of each for its own hive, that when they are caught outside the hive in winter and a great wind springs up, they each seize with their feet a pebble as if for ballast before beginning to fly, so that they may not be borne astray by the gale or miss their hive.[1]

But when a man has a country which is both so devoted and so fine, why should he not regard all else as of minor importance? Taking all this into account, I rejoice to see my own son, my nephew, and the other young men too, and by God's grace I see many who one and all are both of goodly lineage and, at least in personal appearance, resemble goodly men. I rejoice, I say, to see them aiming

would be Nerva. The honour referred to would no doubt be Dio's recall from exile, although Nerva also asked him to visit him at Rome.

[1] For the ancient belief that cranes carried stones for ballast, see Aristophanes, *Birds* 1. 36 1.37. Aristotle, *Hist. Anim.* 8. 14. 5, calls the belief false.

νικήσοντας ἀλλήλους ἄνευ φθόνου καὶ ζηλοτυπίας
καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους ἀνθρώπους ὑπὲρ ἀρετῆς καὶ εὐ-
δοξίας τῆς τε αὑτῶν καὶ τῆς πατρίδος καὶ ὅπως
πρωτεύσῃ ἕκαστος ἐν τῇ πατρίδι τοῦ δικαιοῦ τε
εἶναι καὶ φιλόπολις καὶ μὴ ἀδύνατος ἀγαθόν τι
9 ποιεῖν καὶ αὔξειν τὴν πατρίδα. εὖ γὰρ ἴστε ὅτι
οὐ μεγίστη τῶν πόλεων οὖσα οὐδὲ πλείστον χρόνον
οἰκουμένη πολλῶν γνωριμωτέρα ἐστὶ καὶ παρὰ
τοῖς ἄλλοις ἀνθρώποις, καὶ σχεδόν τι πρὸς ἅπαντας
ἀγωνιουμένους τοὺς Ἕλληνας πάλαι παρεῖχε τοὺς
αὐτῆς πολίτας οὐκ ἐν τοῖς ὑστάτοις οὐδ' ἐν τοῖς
τρίτοις ἢ δευτέροις ἀριθμουμένους. λέγω δὲ οὐχ
ὑπὲρ ἐμαυτοῦ τοῦτον ἐγὼ τὸν λόγον, ἀλλὰ ὑπὲρ
τῶν ἄλλων, ὧν οἱ μὲν ἀποδημήσαντες καὶ πλείοσι
φανεροὶ γενόμενοι φανερὰν τὴν δόξαν ἐκτήσαντο,
οἱ δὲ ἐνθάδε πολιτευόμενοι καὶ μένοντες οὐδὲν χεί-
ρους ἐκείνων εἰσὶν οὔτε περὶ τοὺς λόγους οὔτε περὶ
τὰ ἔργα.
10 Ὁρῶ δὲ οὐ μόνον ἀπὸ λόγων, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἀπὸ
φιλοσοφίας ἄνδρας ἀγαθοὺς καὶ ἀξιολόγους γεγνο-
μένους ἐν τῇ πόλει ὑπὲρ ὧν ἐγὼ καὶ ἰδίᾳ τοὺς
νέους καὶ κοινῇ ὅταν ἡ καιρὸς, οὐκ ἐκπίπτω παρα-
καλῶν· καὶ τὸν δῆμον ὑμᾶς ἀξιῶ, ἃ μὲν ἔστι
παρὰ τῶν κρατούντων, ταῦτα ἐλπίζειν ὡς ἐσόμενα
καὶ εὔχεσθαι συμβαίνειν τινὰ τιμὴν ἢ δόξαν ἢ
εὐπορίαν χρημάτων· ἃ δὲ ἔστι παρ' αὐτῶν,[1] ἔχειν
εὐταξίᾳ τῶν ἄλλων δήμων διαφέροντας, αἰδοῖ, τῷ

[1] αὐτῶν Post. αὐτῶν.

[1] Pliny *Letters* (x. 78) speaks of the dignities of Prusa.
[2] He has paid his respects to the orators in § 6.
[3] The proper [illegible] given.
[4] In § 11 he is more explicit as to Prusan ambitions.

without envy and jealousy to vie with one another, and with all other men as well, concerning character and good repute both their own and that of their country too, and also striving that each may gain first rank in his fatherland for being just and patriotic and not incapable of promoting his country's welfare. For you may rest assured that although Prusa is not the largest of our cities and has not been settled for the longest time, it is more illustrious than many even in the estimation of the outside world, and that it has long ceased to citizens to rank, not first or even third or second in comparison with virtually all Greeks everywhere. And I say this, not for my own sake, but rather for the sake of the others, some of whom through foreign travel and through becoming notable men in a number of countries have gained a notable renown, while others through performing their civic duties here and remaining at home are not inferior to those just mentioned in either speech or action.

But I observe that it is not from the pursuit of eloquence alone[1] but also from the pursuit of wisdom that men of character and distinction are being produced here in Prusa, and I shall not hesitate to exhort our young men in behalf of these things both in private and in public whenever there is opportunity. And I ask of you the people that, as to privileges which must come from our rulers,[2] you cherish the hope of their realization and pray that some measure of honour or fame or affluence may accrue[3] but that, on the other hand, as regards the blessings which must come from yourselves, you possess them by being superior to the other self-governed communities in orderly behaviour, in re-

πείθεσθαι τοῖς ἀγαθοῖς ἀνδράσι,[1] φιλεργίᾳ,[1] σωφροσύνῃ τῇ περὶ τὸν καθ' ἡμέραν βίον, τῷ μήτε τῶν σωμάτων ἀμελεῖν μήτε τῆς ψυχῆς καθ' ὅσον ἑκάστῳ σχολὴν διδόασι τὰ αὐτοῦ πράγματα, τῷ προθυμεῖσθαι ἐκτρέφειν τέκνα καὶ παιδεύειν, τῷ παρέχειν Ἑλληνικὴν τῷ ὄντι καὶ ἀθορύβου καὶ καθεστώσαν τὴν πόλιν καὶ τὸ δημῶδες καὶ τὸ ἀνδρεῖον τῆς φύσεως καὶ τὴν σύνεσιν ἐπὶ τὰ μείζω καὶ καλλίω τρέπειν, διχοφροσύνης δὲ καὶ ταραχῆς καὶ τοῦ προσκρούειν ἀλλήλοις ὡς οἷόν τε ἀπέχεσθαι.

11 Ἔστι γάρ, ὦ ἄνδρες, καὶ δήμου παιδεία καὶ πόλεως ἦθος φιλόσοφον καὶ ἐπιεικές· καὶ οὐ μόνον Λακεδαιμονίοις οὐδὲ Ἀθηναίοις τὸ παλαιὸν καὶ ἄλλοις τισὶ σπουδῇ δυὰ τὸ κοσμίως πολιτεύεσθαι μεγάλως καὶ ἐπιφανεῖς καὶ[2] ἐκ παυ. μικρῶν καὶ ἀσθενῶν ἀποδείξαι τὰς πόλεις, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῶν νῦν ἔξεστι τὸ τοιοῦτον τοῖς βουλομένοις· ταῦτα γὰρ ὑμᾶς ἐπιτηδεύοντας πλέον ὀνήσει καὶ τοῦ πλήθους τῶν βουλευτῶν καὶ τοῦ παρ' ὑμῖν τὰ πράγματα ἄγεσθαι καὶ τοῦ πρόσοδον τινα χρημάτων ἔξωθεν ὑμῖν ὑπάρξαι καὶ τῆς ἐλευθερίας αὐτῆς, ἐὰν ἄρα

12 καὶ τούτου τύχητέ ποτε· εὖ γὰρ ἴστε ὅτι τὴν μὲν λεγομένην ἐλευθερίαν καὶ τὸ ὄνομα τοῦθ', ὃ παρὰ τῶν κρατούντων καὶ δυναμένων γίγνεται, ἐνίοτε[3] οὐ

[1] φιλεργίᾳ Reiske: φιλεργίαν.
[2] καὶ deleted by Arnim.
[3] γίγνεται, τινὰ Pflugk: φίλοτε γίγνεται.

Dio had had experience of the turbulence of the people of Prusa. Note especially Or. 46.
[2] Dio did later obtain for Prusa an enlarged Council and

spect for others, in obedience to your men of character, in industry, in temperance in your daily lives, in neglecting neither your bodies nor your souls, insofar as each man's private circumstances grant him leisure, in devotion to the task of rearing and educating your children, in making your city truly Hellenic, free from tyranny and stasis, and in devoting your native shrewdness and courage and intelligence to greater and finer things, while refraining from dissent and confusion and conflict with one another so far as possible.[1]

For my friends, such a notion can be predicated of a people, the good morality of a state, a morality based upon love of learning and fair dealing. Moreover, not only did the Spartans and the Athenians in ancient days, and certain other peoples too, though orderly behaviour in civic matters have the good fortune to make their cities great and illustrious even out of very small and weak beginnings, but such an achievement as that is possible also for those of to-day who wish it. For if you follow the practices I have mentioned they will benefit you more than either the size of your Council or the right to settle your disputes at home, or the gaining of some revenue from without, or even than independence itself should you be so fortunate as to obtain that too some day.[2] For rest assured that what is called independence, that nominal possession which comes into being at the pleasure of those who have control and authority, is sometimes impossible

the right to hold court at home (Or. 43, 7 and 47, 39). "Revenue from without" may refer to the which came from court proceedings (cf. 35, 15). Independence of the kind enjoyed by Athens, its rivals and neighbours Troas seems not to have obtained.

δυνατὸν κτήσασθαι· τὴν δὲ ἀληθῆ ἐλευθερίαν καὶ ἔργῳ περιγιγνομένην τοῖς ἀνθρώποις καὶ ἀνὴρ καὶ πόλις ἑκάστη παρ' αὐτῆς λαμβάνει, μεγαλοφρόνως καὶ μὴ ταπεινῶς μηδὲ ῥαθύμως διοικοῦσα τὸ καθ' αὐτήν. ἵνα δὲ καὶ ἀλλαχόθεν εἰδῆτε τὴν ἐμὴν γνώμην, ἀναγνώσομαι ὑμῖν ἐπιστολὴν ἣν τε αὐτὸς ἐπέστειλα τῷ αὐτοκράτορι ὅτε ἐκλήθην, ὅτι[1] ἐν ἐκείνῃ παρεκάλουν ἀφεθῆναι πρὸς ὑμᾶς, καὶ ἣν ἐκεῖνος ἀντέγραψεν

[1] ὅτι Reiske ὅτε.

to acquire, but the true independence, the kind which men actually achieve, both the individual and the state obtain, each from its own self, if they administer their own affairs in a high-minded and not in a servile and easy-going manner. But that you may know my opinion from another source as well, I will read you a letter which I myself sent to the Emperor in answer to his invitation to visit him, because in that letter I begged to be excused in favour of you, and also the letter which he wrote in reply.[1]

[1] See Introduction.

THE FORTY-FIFTH DISCOURSE IN DEFENCE OF HIS RELATIONS WITH HIS NATIVE CITY

[illegible]

[illegible] we may infer that they [illegible] a [illegible] of [illegible]

and 10) and either the establishment or the enlargement of the Council at Prusa (§ 7). It would appear that Dio's enemies had accused him of wire-pulling in connexion with the election of the hundred members of this new Council and he is at some pains to establish his innocence in the matter.

The last topic to be discussed is his programme for municipal improvements. He devotes much space to explaining that, although he was ambitious to make far-reaching improvements and had possibly allowed his enthusiasm to lead him into indiscreet remarks upon that theme, what he was then undertaking was relatively conservative in its scope. His concluding sentences contain a most interesting recital of the manner in which his project had been ratified—the proconsul had in less a meeting of the Assembly without the previous knowledge of his and had himself read to the members in attendance either a motion to approve the plan or some statement in support of it. Dio had made an extemporaneous speech advocating its adoption and explaining what it involved, and, if we may believe his words, not only was the vote in favour of the measure unanimous, but all promised to lend it their financial support.

45 ΑΠΟΛΟΓΙΣΜΟΣ ΟΠΩΣ ΕΣΧΗΚΕ ΠΡΟΣ ΤΗΝ ΠΑΤΡΙΔΑ

1 Ἄνδρες πολῖται, βούλομαι ὑμῖν ἀποδοῦναι λόγον τῆς ἐπιδημίας ταύτης, ἐπειδὴ καὶ βραχὺν οἴομαι τὸν λοιπὸν ἔσεσθαι μοι χρόνον· τὴν μὲν γὰρ φυγὴν ὅπως διήνεγκα, μὴ φλαῦρα ἐρημίας ἡττηθείς, μὴ χρημάτων ἀπορίας, μὴ σώματος ἀσθενείας, πρὸς δὲ τούτοις ἅπασιν ἐχθρὸν ἀνιχνεύοντος οὐ τὸν δεινὰ οἴδα τὸν δεινὰ τῶν ἴσων τινὰ καὶ τῶν ὁμοίων[1] δεινὰ φθεγγομένων, ἀλλὰ τὸν ἰσχυρότατον καὶ θαυμαστὸν καὶ δεσπότην ὀνομαζόμενον καὶ θεὸν παρὰ πᾶσιν Ἕλλησι καὶ βαρβάροις, τὰ δὲ ἀληθῆ ὄντα δαιμόνια πονηρόν, καὶ ταῦτα οὐ θωπεύων αὐτὸν οὐδὲ τὴν ἔχθραν παραιτούμενος, ἀλλὰ ἐρεθίζων ἀντικρὺς καὶ τὰ[2] προσόντα κακὰ μὰ Δί', οὐ μέλλων νῦν ἐρεῖν ἢ γράψειν,[3] ἀλλὰ εἰρηκὼς ἤδη καὶ γεγραφώς, καὶ τούτων πανταχῇ τῶν λόγων καὶ τῶν γραμμάτων ὄντων, οὐχ ὑπὸ μανίας καὶ ἀπονοίας ταῦτα πράττειν ἐπιχειρούμενος, ἀλλὰ πρὸς τοῦτον πεποιθὼς δυνάμει καὶ βοηθείᾳ τῇ[4] παρὰ τῶν θεῶν,

[1] ὁμοίων] ὁμοίως I RT After ὁμοίων Emperius adds τῶν ἴσων.
[2] τὰ added by Emperius.
[3] γράψειν I other γράφειν
[4] τῇ added by Reiske

There in this address he refers to the vicissitudes of the time remaining to him at Prusa (§§ 1 and 14). He may be

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Fellow citizens, I want to render you an account of this sojourn of mine, since I believe that the time remaining to me is going to be very brief.[1] Well, how I bore my exile, not succumbing to loss of friends or lack of means or physical infirmity, and, besides all this, bearing up under the hatred not of this or that one among my equals, or peers as they are sometimes called, but rather of the most powerful, most stern man, who was called by all Greeks and barbarians both master and god,[2] but who was in reality an evil demon, and this too without fawning upon him or trying to avert his hatred by entreaty but challenging him openly and not putting off until now, God knows, to speak or write about the evils which afflicted us, but having done both already and that too in speeches and writings broadcast to the world, not being goaded by madness or desperation to do these things, but trusting in a greater power and source of aid, that which

about to go to Rome for the approaching trial of Basius (Or. 44 § 8), hoping to use that opportunity to gain further favours for Prusa (*infra* § 3).

[2] Domitian. Cf. Suetonius, *Domitian* 13: *cum procuratorem suum ut nomine fungeretur dictaret epistulam, sic coepit: dominus et deus noster hoc fieri iubet.*

ἧς καταφρονοῦσιν οἱ πολλοὶ καὶ ἀνωφελῆ νομίζου-
2 σιν· τὸ δὲ περὶ τούτων καθ' ἕκαστον λέγειν
ἡγοῦμαι εἶναι περιττόν παρ' ἄλλοις γὰρ μᾶλλον
γιγνώσκεται ταῦτα καὶ τυγχάνει δόξης καὶ τιμῆς
τῆς προσηκούσης παρ' ὑμῖν δὲ ἂν διεξίω τὸν
τῆς φυγῆς χρόνον, οὐκ ἀδικήσεσθαί με φήσει τις,
πολὺ δὲ μᾶλλον ἀλαζονεύεσθαι

Τελευτήσαντος δὲ ἐκείνου καὶ τῆς μεταβολῆς
γενομένης ἀνῆκεν μὲν πρὸς τὸν βέλτιστον Νέρβαν,
ὑπὸ δὲ νόσου χαλεπῆς κατασχεθεὶς ὅλον ἐκεῖνον
ἐζημιώθην τὸν καιρόν, ἀφαιρεθεὶς αὐτοκράτορος
φιλανθρώπου κἀμὲ ἀγαπῶντος καὶ πάλαι φίλου
καὶ ὀμνύω τοὺς θεοὺς ὑμῖν ἅπαντας, οὐκ ἐφ' οἷς
ἂν εἰς ἐμαυτὸν ἢ τῶν ἐμῶν τινα ἔλαβον, οὐκ ἐπὶ
τούτοις ἔχθομαι διαμαρτών, ἀλλ' ἐφ' οἷς ὑμῖν καὶ
δημοσίᾳ τῇ πόλει παρασχεῖν ἐδυνάμην, ταύτην ἐγὼ
3 μεγάλην ἀριθμῷ βλάβην καὶ ζημίαν· ὧν γὰρ νῦν
ἐτύχομεν, τότε ἐξῆν ταῦτα ἔχειν καὶ τῷ παρόντι
καιρῷ πρὸς ἑτέρας κεχρῆσθαι δωρεάς. ἐπεὶ δ' οὖν
ὑπῆρξε παρὰ τούτου φιλανθρωπία καὶ σπουδὴ τοσαύτη[1] περὶ ἡμᾶς ὅσην ἐπίστανται μόνοι[2] οἱ παρατυχόντες, ἐγὼ δὲ ἂν λέγω νῦν, σφόδρα λυπήσω τινάς—ἴσως δὲ οὐδὲ φανεῖται πιστὸς ὁ λόγος τὸ

[1] τοσαύτη Emperius : τοιαύτη.
[2] μόνοι Emperius : μόνος.

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[1] For the principal clause, which is missing in this sufficiently long sentence, Dio doubtless substituted an eloquent gesture.

[2] I.e. better known among his friends at Rome and in the places which he had visited in his wanderings.

[3] Nerva succeeded Domitian in A.D. 96.

[4] Nerva died in January of A.D. 98.

proceeds from the gods (though most men scorn it and deem it useless) — to speak of these things in detail I think is superfluous, for these matters are better known among other men, and enjoy a renown and honour which is their due, whereas if I narrate in Prusa the course of my exile, men will say, not that I am narrating but far rather that I am boasting.

However that may be, when that man had died and the change of administration had been effected,[1] I was on the point of going to visit the most noble Nerva, but having been prevented by a serious illness, I lost that opportunity completely, being robbed of an emperor who was humane and fond of me and an old time friend.[2] And I swear to you by all the gods, it is not because of what I might have obtained for myself or for some member of my family that I am distressed at having missed it, no, because of what I might have achieved for you and for the state at large; for this I count a great injury and loss. For what we have now obtained[3] we might have had then, and we might have employed the present opportunity toward obtaining further gifts. However that may be, when I had experienced at the hands of the present emperor a benevolence and an interest in me whose magnitude those who were there[3] know full well, though if I speak of it now I shall greatly annoy certain persons[3]—and possibly the statement will not even seem credible,

[1] I.e., the Council of One Hundred, revision of finances, and the right to hold court at Prusa.

[2] I.e., in Rome, in connexion with the mission of A.D. 100 (Dio, lxviii. 5).

[3] Perhaps those who had expected of him greater accomplishments, or perhaps some who envied him his influence at Rome.

τηλικαύτης τιμῆς τυγχάνοντα καὶ συνηθείας καὶ φιλίας ἅπαντα ταῦτα ἐᾶσαι καὶ παριδεῖν, ἐπιθυμήσαντα τῆς ἐνταῦθα ταραχῆς καὶ τῆς ασχολιας, ἵνα μηδὲν εἴπω πλέον—ὅμως δ' εἰς οὐδὲν τῶν ἰδίων κατεθέμην τὸν καιρὸν ἐκεῖσε οὐδὲ τὴν τοῦ κρατοῦντος εὔνοιαν οὐδὲ ἀπὸ μέρους, οἷον τὰ τῆς οὐσιας ἐπανορθωσας διεφθαρμένης ἢ προσλαβών τινα ἀρχὴν ἢ δύναμιν, ἀλλ' ἅπαν ὅσον ποτε ἦν εἰς ὑμᾶς ἔτρεψα καὶ μόνον εἶδον τὸ τῆς πόλεως

4 Ταῦτα δὲ εἰ μὲν ἐστι χρήσιμα καὶ μεγαλα, ἢ μὴ πολλοῖς ὑπάρξαντα ἑτεροις ἀλλὰ μιᾷ πόλει, καὶ ταυτῃ σχεδόν τι τῶν ἐλλογιμωτάτων κατὰ τὴν Ἀσιαν καὶ τηλικοῦτον ἐχουσῃ δικαιον πρὸς τὸν αὐτοκρατορα, τοῦ θεοῦ παρ' ἐκείνοις μαντευσαμένου καὶ προειπόντος τὴν ἡγεμονιαν αὐτῷ καὶ πρώτου πάντων ἐκείνου φανερὸς αὐτὸν ἀποδείξαντος τῶν ὅλων κύριον οὐ λέγω τοιοῦτον οὐδέν. ὅτι δ'[1] ὑμᾶς μαλιστα τούτων[2] ἐπεθυμεῖτε,[3] καὶ χρόνος ἦν πολυς, ὃν ἠλπίζετε, ἐξηπάτησθε,[4] τοῖς ὑποσχομένοις μόνον τῶν ἰδιωτῶν[5]- οὐ γαρ δὴ τῶν ἡγεμόνων οὐδεις οὔτε προσεδοκησε πώποτε οὔτε ὑπέσχετο—τιμὰς ὑπερβαλλουσας ἐδίδοτε, πρὸ πολ-

[1] δ' ὅτι Arnim. [2] καὶ added by Reiske.
[3] ἦ] deleted by Arnim
[4] ἀλλ' Crusby ἀλλ' ἢ [5] δ' added by Seeden.
[6] τούτων Crusby, τούτων Emperius τοῦτο.
[7] ἐπεθυμεῖτε Reiske ἐπεθυμεῖτε.
[8] ἐξηπατησθε Emperius ἐξηπατησθαι.
[9] ἰδιωτῶν Emperius ἡγεμόνων.

[1] In Or. 40. 18 he complains of lack of leisure.
[2] The allusion is obscure. Possibly Dio is referring to

that one who met with such esteem and intimacy and friendship should have neglected all these things and have given them scant attention, having formed a longing for the confusion and bustle here at home[1] to put it mildly—for all that, I did not employ that opportunity or the goodwill of the Emperor for any selfish purpose, not even to a limited degree, for example toward restoring my ruined fortunes or securing some office or emolument, but anything that it was possible to obtain I turned in your direction and I did it especially for the welfare of the city.

But the question whether these concessions are useful and important, or whether they have been granted, not to many other cities, but to one only, and that too, I venture to state, one of the most illustrious in all Asia, a city possessing so great a claim upon the Emperor, inasmuch as the god they worship had prophesied and foretold his leadership to him and had been the first of all openly to proclaim him master of the world[2]—I am not speaking of anything like that. But that you desired these concessions[3] most of all, and that there had been a long period during which you were in a state of expectancy, victims of deception, constantly bestowing extravagant honours upon those private persons who merely gave you promises—for of course none of the proconsuls ever either expected or promised these concessions[3]—inasmuch as you went in a body

Smyrna, for in Or. 40. 14 he speaks of a report that Trajan had been astonishingly generous to Smyrna—though he himself refutes the report.

[1] I.e. the concessions won by Dio (§ 8).

[2] The petty agents referred to seem to have been negotiating with one or more proconsuls instead of directly with Trajan, as Dio had done, cf. § 5.

λοῦ τῆς πόλεως ἀπαντῶντες[1] παυδημεὶ καὶ[2] περιμένοντες ἐν ἑτέραις πόλεσι τοῦτο ἴσως[3] ἐνοεῖν
5 ἄξιον καίτοι σμικρῶν γενομένων καὶ οὐδένος ἀξίων τὸν ἄνδρα τὸν γενναῖον καὶ μὴ φθόνου καὶ βασκανίας ἥττονα τότε ἐχρῆν λέγειν ὅτι, Μαινεσθε καὶ παρανοεῖτε τοιούτων ἐξεχόμενοι σφόδρα οὕτως καὶ θεραπεύοντες ἀνθρώπους οὕτω ταπεινοὺς ἐπὶ πράγμασιν οὔτε ἀναγκαίοις οὔτε μεγάλοις καὶ ταῦτα ἀδήλοις ἔτι καὶ μηδὲν ἔχοντες βέβαιον· ἀλλ', οἶμαι, χαλεπὸν μὲν ἦν αὐτοῖς καὶ ὁπωσοῦν γενόμενον τι τούτων· οὐ μὴν ὁμοίως ἔλυπει τὸ τὸν δεῖνα καὶ τὸν δεῖνα τῶν ἡγεμόνων[4] εἶναι τὸν ποιήσαντα καὶ παρασχόντα, μὴ τῶν ἡμετέρων τινὰ πολιτῶν· ἔτι δὲ ἔλπις ὑπῆν καὶ ἔθελγεν αὐτοὺς οὐδέποτε[5] γενομένων.

6 Καίτοι καὶ τοῦτο δεήσει πολλῶν ἐγὼ λεγόντων, ὡς πρότερον[6] ἀντιγράψαντος περὶ τῆς διοικήσεως τῶν ἡγεμόνων τινος καὶ τοῦ πράγματος ἀποτευχθέντος πολλοὶ κατεγέλων τῆς πόλεως—οὐ τῶν ἀστυγειτόνων, ἧττον γὰρ ἂν[7] ἦν τὸ δεινόν, ἀλλὰ

[1] ἀπαντῶντες Selden: ἀπαντεῖν.
[2] καὶ added by Selden, § Emperius.
[3] τοῦτο ἴσως Emperius: τοῦτοις οὖν.
[4] τῶν ἡγεμόνων: ἐ. Ed by Emperius.
[5] οὐδέποτε Cronin: οὐ οὐδέποτε ἂν Emperius: ὡς οὐδέποτε.
[6] πρότερον Emperius: πρότερον or πρωΐτερον.
[7] ἂν added by Field.

[1] The personal pronoun contained in the last three sentences, though it seems to refer to [illegible] Field is indeed citizen, who had failed to protest against relying upon the worthless agents who for some time had fed Prusa on false

far from Prusa to meet the men of whom I speak, and waited for them in other cities—this perhaps is a matter worth bearing in mind. And yet seeing that only trifling yet worthless concessions were elected by them, the high minded man, the man who was not the slave of envy and meanness, would have said at the time: 'You are crazy and drunk! In crawling so tenaciously to mere air, that and in enduring such low fawnings in order to gain favours that are neither essential nor important, I say nothing of their being vague and of your having no assurance. But, I suspect, any of these things, no matter how it was brought to pass, was to them delightful. Yet surely the people were in despair, didn't said that it was this or that personage who had effected the concession and presented it to them instead of one of our own citizens. Besides, there had a lurking hope which cheered them regarding concessions that never came to pass.

And yet this too I have heard from many sources, that when one of the proconsuls on a previous occasion had sent a rescript regarding the administration of our finances, and the project came to naught, many ridiculed the city. I don't mean many of our neighbours, for the outrage would have been less in that

hopes, but who was [illegible] of this own a [illegible]. He contrasts ironically favours [illegible] of a proconsul with [illegible] of [illegible] self. It is not [illegible] why the [illegible] should [illegible] that his citizens were reluctant to witness the development of their city.

The word *hosyor* occurs frequently in the Rhetorian speeches [illegible] with [illegible] keen an interest Rome felt in the financial well-being of the province.

τῶν πολιτῶν—ὡς μειζόνων ἢ καθ' αὑτὴν ἐφιεμένης καὶ διαφερούσης οὐδὲν κατὰ τὴν ἀφροσύνην τῶν παίδων τῶν βασιλέως καὶ ταῦτα λεγόντες οὐκ ἠσχύνοντο διαστρέφοντες τὴν αὐτῶν πατρίδα καὶ καθαιροῦντες ἐν τοῖς λόγοις αὐτοὺς[1] ἀνοήτους· εἴτε γὰρ εἰσὶ[1] τῶν πρωτευόντων ἐν αὐτῇ ἢ τιμωμένων, αὐτοὺς καθαιροῦσιν ἀσθενοῦς καὶ ἰδιώτας πόλεως προστήκοντες· εἴτε τῶν ἀπορρήτων εἰσὶ καὶ τῶν ὑστάτων, ἔτι μείζω καὶ χαλεπωτέραν ποιοῦσι τὴν ἀτιμίαν αὐτοῖς, εἰ τῆς ἐσχάτης πόλεως ἔσχατοι τυγχάνουσιν ὄντες.

7 Ἵνα δὲ μὴ δια τοὺς ἐμπίπτοντας λόγους τοῦ προτεθέντος ἐκκρουσθῶ, τούτων ὅπως δήποτε ληφθέντων καὶ κομισθέντων ἐνταῦθα, σκοπεῖτε[2] εἴ τῳ βαρὺς γέγονα τῶν πολιτῶν ἢ κατ' ἰδίαν ὑπὲρ ἐμαυτοῦ λέγων ἢ κοινῇ προφέρων καὶ ἀνειδίζων χάριτας ἢ προαγαγών τινας ὧν ἐβουλόμην ἢ τουναντίον οὐκ ἔλαττον[3] ἑκατὸν βουλευτῶν καταλεγέντων ἕτεροι μὲν εἰσήγαγον φίλους αὐτῶν καὶ παρεσκεύασαν ὅπως ἔχοιεν τοὺς συναγωνιζομένους καὶ βοηθοῦντας οἷς ἂν ποτε ἐθέλοιεν, ἐγὼ δὲ οὔτ' ἐποίησα τοιοῦτον οὐδὲν αὐτὸ διελαχθὴν τοιοῦτον, ὡς ἐμοὶ μᾶλλον ἂν προσθεμένων,[4] εἰ ἐβουλόμην, ἢ
8 ἄλλῳ τινί· μάλιστα μὲν γὰρ ἠξίουν μηδὲ ἕτερον

[1] αὐτοὺς] αὐτοῖς Arnim.
[2] κομισθέντων ἐνταῦθα, σκοπεῖτε Emperius: ἐνταῦθα, σκοπεῖτε καὶ κομισθέντων.
[3] οὐκ ἔλαττον Reiske: ἔλαττον οὐχ or ἔλαττόν οὐχ.
[4] μᾶλλον ἂν προσθεμένων Reiske, προσθεμένων δὲ Pflugk: προσθεμένων.

[1] A minority of the Prusans seem to have had full citizenship p

ease, but many of our own fellow citizens—alleging that the city was aiming at things beyond its reach and in point of folly proving in no wise superior to the sons of kings. And in saying these things they were not ashamed to be disparaging their own country and discrediting it so long as they by their words. For if they are among the foremost in it or among those held in honour, they are discrediting themselves, having been the only abiding men of a weak and unstable city; while if they are among the outcast and lowest group,[1] they are making their own disgrace still greater and more grievous, if they happen to occupy the lowest station in a city of the lowest grade.

But, not to be diverted from my theme by these incidental reflections, now that these favours have been obtained in whatever way they were and brought to Prusa,[2] consider whether I have made myself obnoxious to any of our citizens, either privately by speaking to my own interest, or publicly by parading and casting in your teeth favours conferred, or by having given preferment to certain men of my choice, or whether, on the contrary, though no fewer than a hundred councillors were enrolled while others had put in friends of their own and had schemed to have in the Council persons to aid them and to give their support to whatever they might wish to accomplish, I neither did anything of the kind nor discussed such a thing, in the belief that they[3] would have sided with me rather than with somebody else had I so desired. No, I held that, if possible, no other man should introduce such a

[1] i.e., by Dio. Cf. § 3 and note.
[2] i.e., the elections.

μηδενὶ τοιούτῳ βίῳ εἰσάγειν μηδὲ ἐπὶ ἄνθρωπος
ἐπιστρεφεσθαι μηδ' τὰ μὴ δίκαιον τὴν πόλιν εἰ
δ' οὐ αὐτὸς ἀπεχόμενος τῶν τοιούτων ἁμαρτη-
μάτων, εἰ καὶ κάκιστα ἔλαττον ἰσχύειν ἀμάλλοιν καὶ
μηδενὸς ἀξιοῦσθαι λόγου

Τὰ οὖν ἡμάρτου ἐν τούτοις καὶ τὰ παρελείφθη μοι διὰ τὸν εἶναι πρὸς ὑμᾶς ὁμολογῶ ὅτι μὴ τὸ αὐτὸς μηδὲν ἔπραττον ἄλλοις καὶ παραινοῦν μὴ τοῖς ἄλλοις ἐπιτάττειν εἰ δὲ ἐν ῥήμασι κωλύσαι καὶ κατασιγῆσαι μήτοι τὸ γενόμενον ἀπερ' εἰδόσιν, ὑμᾶς καὶ τοὺς ἡγεμόσιν εἰ δὲ μὴ τὰς μὴ προσεῖχεν μήτε τῶν ἡγεμόνων τὸ πρᾶγμα ἤκουτο, ἐν γαλεπὸν δὲ ἀκουτέλαι τῷ αἰτιωμένῳ ὅτι τοῦτο οὐδὲ δὲ τὸ πολίτου ἄμα τὸν ἀκούειν ἀνεν, ἵνα μὴ δικαιοῦν κατηγορεῖν τινὸς μηδὲ ἀκοῦ- ἄλλου τὸν πολίτου μηδὲ ὑπὸ ὧν ἀκουστέον ὡ τῶν ἀ ἀδὸ μηδεὶς τὸ μὲν δὴ τὴν βουλὴν οὕτω δικαστὴν τὰ γ ἀλλὰ ἀρθῶν οὔτε γὰρ φαύλοις οὔτε ἀνεξίκακοι ἀνδρὸς ἀχειροτονοῦσιν πλὴν ὅτι πάντες τὴν ἴσην τυχόντες τιμῆς καὶ τοῦ δικαίου τυγχάνοντες καὶ δι' αὐτοὺς, ἅμα καθάπερ οἱ μεγάλοι μυστηρίων ἀπολύσαν ἐγὼ δὲ οὐδὲ φύσει ἡλικιῶν διαγνῶναι ὑπὲρ ἀνδρὸς μόνος, μὴ ῥοπὴν τινα δοῦναι τὸ τοιοῦτον παρέχειν καὶ μαρτυρεῖν καὶ τῶν ἄλλων τινὲς ἀε-

[1] ἀκούειν ἀκούειν Naber
[2] ἀκουστέον W ... ἀκουστέον καὶ
[3] ἀκοῦ W ... ἀκοῦ τὸν
[4] ἀκουστέον W ... ἀκουστέον
[5] ἀκουτέλαι Reiske ... ἀκουτέλαι [6] γ Reiske ἢ

[1] P ... the were influential at Athens ... P ... be danger of the ... in Bithynia ... letters ...
[2] At the Eleusinian Mysteries these officials instructed

practice or conduct state affairs by means of political clubs, or split the city into factions, but if they did, that I at any rate should abstain from such madness, even if it meant that I should have much less influence than any of the others and be considered of no importance at all.

Then what error have I committed in the matters under consideration, or in what have I been found remiss? I have the right to admit to you that I was in this doing anything unjust and illegal myself nor trying to prevent the others from so doing, although by a single word I could have prevented and by present silence I have disclosed to you and the proconsul what was going on though you knew it already. And, in case you paid no heed and the matter did not impress the proconsul rather, it would not have been difficult to send word to the Emperor. It was this therefore, that made me keep quiet, that I might not be suspected of accusing certain persons or of indaging the city and, in general, that I might not be so irritating to all some at Prusa. Now then, the matter of the Council was managed as follows, correctly for the most part, for you elected men who were neither mediocre nor undeserving, however, since they all received the same rank, even though they obtained it justly and through their own merits, they nevertheless, like those who are being initiated into the mysteries, required *mystagogus*[1]. Yet I did not see fit even to vote no on a single candidate, yes, I alone, lest such action on my part might seem to lend some weight and testimony and lest some of the others

[1] candidates for initiation regarding the proper procedure and acted as their sponsors.

πόρρωθεν ἡμῶν τὰ κακὰ γράφειν καὶ ἀποφαίνεσθαι
10 τί οὖν, ἐπὶ δὲ τὴν ἡμέραν ἣ τρίς γενόμενος τῆς
χειροτονίας εἰλόμην οὐδ' ἐμέλλον· παρεύγχω τοῖς
γεγονόσι οὐδὲν ἔχειν· χρυσοῦν οὐδὲ ἀργυροῦν
οὐδὲ ἐμοὶ χάριν ὀφείλοντα τοῦ πράγματος· ὑμῖν
γὰρ οὐκ ἐμαυτῷ τοὺς βουλευτὰς ἐπόησαμεν.

Καὶ ταῦτα διανοούμενος νῦν πρώτον εἰσῆλθον· πολλὰ ὑπὸ πολλῶν τεθέαμαι—ὥστερ οὖν καὶ ἐστὶ τὸν ἐλθόντα μετὰ τοσούτου ἐπὶ φυγὴν καὶ πρὸς δεινὸν ὁ δὲ δίκαιος μοι δοκεῖ· ἀλλὰ μᾶλλον· εἰπεῖν καὶ μετριότατα περὶ τῶν κατεχομένων πρὸς ἐμὲ νῦν ἐμετρούμην ἐντὸς λόγου ἐποιησάμην οὐδέν, τοσούτοις μὲν εἰς ἐλευθέρους ἀφεστηκότων οἰκετῶν, τοσούτοις δὲ χρήματα ἀνεστρεπτόντων τοσούτοις δὲ χωρία κατεχόντων, ἅτε μηδενὸς ὄντος τοῦ
11 κωλύοντος· οὐ γὰρ δὴ τὸν μὲν Ἰθωμόνεν πατέρα οἴκοι καταλιπόντα καὶ γυναῖκα ἐνταῦθα καὶ φίλους ἐνταῦθα καταφρονήσαι διὰ τὴν ἀπόδημίαν οἵ-ως ἔστι· τὴν οἰκίαν αὐτοῦ καταλαβόντας ἐκεῖνον δοκεῖσθαι καὶ πάντα καθ' ἑκάστην τὴν ἡμέραν τὸν οἶκον αὐτοῦ λυμαίνεσθαι καὶ τὰ βεβηκότα ἀποκτιννύντας καὶ μόνοι τῆς γυναικὸς ἀπεχεσθαι τελευτῶντες, ἀλλ' ἔκοπον βαδιεῖσθαι γῆμαι καὶ καταλιπεῖν τὸν ἄνδρα καὶ τὴν οἰκίαν, ἐμὲ δὲ οὐκ ἂν εἶκος ὑπὸ

[1] γεγονόσι γεγονόσιν Reiske
[2] ἀλλ' [illegible] ἀλλ' μαλλον
[3] ἔχειν Emperius [illegible] [4] κατεχόμενα ἄρχοντα ἄρχοντα
[5] [illegible] [illegible]
[6] μᾶλλον] μόνον Pflugk [7] ἔκοπον Reiske [illegible]
[8] καταλιπεῖν Emperius καταλιπόντα or καταλιπόντων

[1] [illegible] for the [illegible] have been [illegible] in the course of which we then left [illegible] might be presented. This [illegible] to take part [illegible] to us

might be reluctant to write and declare themselves in opposition to me? What then? When the voting had been in progress for two or three days I left Prusa and did not intend by being present at the proceedings to have any one as my debtor or confederate or owing me thanks because of the affair. For it was for you, not for myself, that I had asked for the councillors.

And again, when now for the first time the question of financial administration[1] had been brought up, though I had been wronged by many men in many matters, as indeed it was to be expected that a man should be who had come home after so many years of exile—and although with regard to some I did not even need to go to law, but rather to speak to them and remind them of what was being held in their possession, nevertheless I did not mention these matters to any one or make any statement, although so many slaves had run away and obtained freedom, so many persons had defrauded me of money, so many were occupying lands of mine, since there was no one to prevent such doings. For if Odysseus, who had left at home a father, a faithful wife, and friends, had the misfortune to be so despised because of his absence from home that some took possession of his house and feasted and drank there every day, draining his wine casks and eating off his cattle, and finally did not even keep their hands off his wife, but tried to make her marry again against her will and to abandon her husband and her home, was it not to be expected that I should have suffered

influence at Prusa. He may well have wished to avoid incurring enmity and thus endangering his success in greater matters.

[1] Cf. § 6 and note.

πολλῶν πολλὰ τοιαῦτα πεπονθέναι, πάντων ἀπεγνωκότων με καὶ μηδένος ἔτι σωθήσεσθαι προσδοκώντος.

12 Ἀλλὰ περὶ ταῦτα μὲν ἴσως οὐχ ἡμῖν ἑτέροις γέγονα, λέγω δὲ σοῦ τῶν ἰδιωτῶν μόνον, ἀλλὰ πολλῶν καὶ φιλοσόφων καλουμένων σωφρονεστέρος· ἐλείπετο δὲ ἐν τοῖς ἔργοις τὴν πόλιν· περὶ δὲ τούτων, ὡς ἐγένετο, πολλάκις ἀκήκοατε· δεῖ δὲ καὶ νῦν ἴσως ἀναμνῆσαι· τὸν γὰρ, ἄνδρες, τὸ μὲν βουλεύεσθαι τὴν πόλιν κοσμεῖν καὶ κατασκευάζειν μὴ μόνον στοαῖς καὶ ὁδοῖσιν, ἀλλὰ εἰ δυνατὸν ἦν,

13 καὶ τείχεσι καὶ λιμέσι καὶ νεωρίοις ὁμολογῶ· καὶ τοῦτον τὸν ἔρωτα, οὕτως[2] εἴτε παιδικὸν φήσει τις εἴτε ἀνόητον, οὐκ ἔξαρνος εἰμι, τὸ καὶ συνοικίζειν ἐθέλειν τὴν πόλιν καὶ πλῆθος ἀνθρώπων εἰς αὐτὴν ὅσον δύναμαι συναγαγεῖν· καὶ οὐ μόνον τῶν ἐπιχωρίων, ἀλλ', εἰ δυνατὸν ἦν, καὶ ἑτέρας πόλεις συναθροῖσαι ἀναγκάσαντα, ὅσπερ Ἐπαμεινώνδας ποτὲ τὴν Βοιωτίαν εἰς τὰς Θήβας συνῴκισε καὶ Θησεὺς τὴν Ἀττικὴν εἰς τὰς Ἀθήνας, καὶ Μυτιληναῖοι[3] ποτὲ λέγονται τῆς Αἰολίδος κατασχόντες καὶ τῶν πρὸς τὸν Ἑλλήσποντον καὶ Ἰρωάδα τόπων τὴν Λέσβον ἅπασαν εἰς μίαν τὴν αὑτῶν[4] συναγαγεῖν πόλιν.

14 Οὐ μὴν ἀλλ' ἐπιστάμενός γε τὰς διανοίας τῶν

[2] οὕτως] ὅσον Emperius, ἴσως Arnim, decided by Heake.
[3] Μυτιληναῖοι C, Fr. II [illegible] μεθόριον or πλήθους.
[4] αὐτῶν Emperius: [illegible]

[1] Cf. Or. 40. 2. [2] Cf. Or. 40. 9–12.
[3] These operations form the centre-piece of Or. 47 and are referred to incidentally in Or. 40 and 48. No doubt he had spoken on the same topic on many occasions.
[4] Mytilene controlled much of Aeolis in the time of Pittacus.

many such wrongs at the hands of many men, since all had come to despair of me and no one any longer expected me to return in safety.

However, though possibly I have not been like others in regard to such matters—I mean that as compared not only with orators but even with those who are known as philosophers I may have acted with more self-restraint—yet I have offended the city in the matter of the public improvements. I observe that these, how they came about, you have often heard me speak; yet perhaps I should take this occasion also to refresh your memory. For gentlemen, the I wished to be best place to magnify the city and embellish it with not merely colonnades and [illegible] but also, if that were possible, [illegible] features and harbours and shipyards. I freely admit. And also that I have had another passionate desire—call it either as childish or as foolish as you will—I do not know. I mean my desire to make our city the head of a federation of cities and to bring together in it as great a multitude of inhabitants as I can, and not merely dwellers in this district either, but even if possible comprising other cities too to join together with us, just as Epaminondas once brought Boeotia into union with Hellas and as Theseus brought Attica into union with Athens and as the people of Mycenae once, according to report, having become masters of Aeolis and of the regions about the Hellespont and the Troad, gathered all Lesbos into her own state as a unit.

However, being acquainted with the views of some

one, whose rule extended from 386 to 379 B.C., but we have no other record of the [illegible] Syracuse had [illegible] of change of residence but merely change of position, allegiance.

λιθάδε ἀνθρώπων ἀνίων καὶ τὴν ἐμαυτοῦ δύναμιν
καὶ τὰς αὐχήσεις καὶ τὸν χρόνον τῆς ἐπιδημίας,
ὅτι μοι βραχὺς ἐστι πανταχοῦ, οὔτε ἡπτόμην οὐ-
δενὸς μείζονος οὔτε ἠλπίζον, μόνον δὲ τὴν διάνοιαν
οὐκ ἐδυνάμην τὴν ἐμαυτοῦ κατέχειν, ἀλλ' ὥσπερ
οἱ δρῶντες αὐτοὶ περὶ τῶν τοιούτων[1] διεξίασιν
οἷον καὶ ἐπιθυμοῦσι, κἀγὼ πολλάκις ἐμεμνήμην
ὧν[2] καὶ ἠνώμιζον συμφέρειν γενέσθαι τῇ πόλει
κατασκευὴν ἕνεκα καὶ συνοικισμοῦ καὶ προσόδων
18 καὶ μύρια ἄλλα· ἃ εἴ ποτε γένοιτο καιρὸς ἐπι-
τελεσθῆναι καὶ θεὸς τὰς ποιήσειε, τότε ὑφεσθαι τὴν
ὑπερβολὴν τῆς τῶν ἐχθρᾶς καὶ τοῦ[3] πρὸς ἐμὲ
μισοῦς, ἵνα μὴ λέγω τοῦ πρὸς ὑμᾶς· οὓς οὐδὲ τὰ
ἀμφιβόλως οὐδὲ πρᾴως ἐρῶσι καὶ λοιδορήσονται,
φανερῶς δὲ καὶ ἀντιαρεῖς· κἂν μὴ κωλύσαι δυνη-
θῶσιν ἀπαγόρευσαι πρότερον ἢ τὴν πόλιν ἰδεῖν οἵαν
αὐτὴν βουλόμενοι θεῶν οὐκ ἐδύνατον γενέσθαι·
τότε δ' οὖν τοῦ πράγματος διξάμενοι τὸ πρᾶγμα—
τυχὸν μὲν δι' ὑμᾶς, ἴσως δὲ καὶ δι' ἐμὲ καὶ
συναγαγόντος[4] ἐπιλήσιον οὐ πρωτίστου ἐμοῦ, καὶ
περὶ τούτων ἀναγιγνωσκόντος, οὐκ ἐδυνήθην τὴν
ἡσυχίαν ἄγειν ἀλλ' ἀνέστην καὶ συνεβουλευσάμην καὶ
19 ἀνεδείξαμεν τοῖς ἀγνοοῦσι τὸ πρᾶγμα· καὶ μετὰ
ταῦτα οὐχ ὁ μὲν δῆμος ἡμῖν ἐπεθυμήσατο τῶν
ἔργων, τῶν δὲ ἐν τέλει τις ἀντεῖπεν, οὐδὲ ἀντεῖπε
μὲν οὐδείς, οὐ μὴν προθυμούμενος ἐνεφάνη καὶ

[1] πάντα ἀν (and ἀν in margin) Jacobs, ἀν τοῦ Wilamowitz.
[2] After ὧν Sauppe has ἀν ἀν τοῦ τοιούτου.
[3] ὧν added by Sauppe.
[4] συναγόντος Pflugk, συνάγοντος.

[1] Cf. § 1. [2] Cf. Or. 40. 8-11. [3] Cf. Or. 40. 6.

of the people here, as well as with my own limitations and responsibilities and the duration of my sojourn in Prusa—for the time at my disposal is altogether brief—I neither undertook anything too ambitious nor indulged in any such expectations, nor, I could not too much wish the gods but just as people when asking for expensive or such things as they most desire, so I too would often mention those things which I did believe it would profit the city to have for its improvement and its establishment of a federation and its revenues and countless other things. And if the opportunity should ever arise for the fulfilment of these projects are some good hound being there to pass them, you will see no extravagance of the hostility of these persons and of their hatred of me—or say nothing of their hatred of you—since they will no longer be ambiguous and mild in their speech and their behaviour but open and outspoken and if they prove unable to bring proceedings they will hang themselves under that, as the city become such a city as, God willing, it is not impossible for it to come to be! At the time, at any rate, when the proposal accepted the proposal possibly through your efforts but perhaps through mine as well, and convened an assembly, though I had had no previous warning, and began to read a statement about these matters, I could not keep quiet but took the floor and gave the measure my support and explained the project for those who lacked information on the subject. And as to what happened after that, it is not that you the Assembly cleared the improvements but a certain one of the officials opposed them, nor yet that while no one opposed them, none was found enthusiastically in favour of

συμπράττων, ἀλλὰ πάντες ὡς ἐπ' ἀγαθοῖς οὖσι καὶ συμφέρουσιν οὐ λόγῳ μόνον[1] συμπράττοντες καὶ συνεισφέροντες καὶ τὸ πρᾶγμα ὡς καλὸν καὶ μεγαλοπρεπὲς καὶ τῇ πόλει συμφέρον οὕτως ἐγένετο[2]

[1] Ἀλλ' μόνον Reiske adds ἀλλὰ καὶ ἔργῳ εὑρέθησαν.
[2] Arnim regards the sentence as incomplete.

them and ready to co-operate, on the contrary, one and all, believing that the undertaking was fine and for the city's good, were ready not only to vote for it but also to contribute to it, and thus the proposal was carried, as being fine and magnificent and beneficial to the city

THE FORTY-SIXTH DISCOURSE DELIVERED IN HIS NATAL CITY PRIOR TO HIS PHILOSOPHICAL CAREER

[illegible] must have been [illegible]

[illegible] were suspected of having manipulated the grain market

or because it was felt that they should be doing something toward the relief of the masses or because of pure hatred of the poor for the rich. Having reached a narrow lane near Dio's estate, the mob suddenly was seized with panic and withdrew. The following morning the local authorities call a town meeting to discuss ways and means of easing the situation. In this meeting of citizens Dio rises to protest against his maltreatment by the mob. The gathering is hostile and he appeals for a fair hearing both in the beginning of his remarks and later when he speaks of the price of grain, but he shows himself a man of fearless courage both in defending himself and upbraiding his fellow townsmen. The address is interesting, not only as presenting the spontaneous eloquence of a distinguished speaker, but also as portraying in vivid colours the social and economic unrest that must have characterized more than one community in Bithynia.

46 ΠΡΟ ΤΟΥ ΦΙΛΟΣΟΦΕΙΝ ΕΝ ΤΗΙ ΠΑΤΡΙΔΙ

1 Ἐγὼ οὐχ οὕτως ἐκπέπληγμαι ἐφ' οἷς ποιεῖτε, ὦ ἄνδρες, τοιούτους οὖσιν, ἀλλ' ἐπεὶ οὐδεμίαν αἰτίαν ὁρῶ τῆς ὑμετέρας ὀργῆς πρὸς ἐμέ, τοῦτό ἐστι τὸ εἰς ἀπορίαν ἄγον· ὀργὴν μὲν γὰρ δικαίαν ἔστι παρατηρεῖσθαι ἀνθρώπων, μισοῦς δὲ ἄδικον τις ἂν θεραπεύσαι, ἀξιῶ δὲ ὑμᾶς ἀκούσαι μου λέγοντος οὐκ ἐμοῦ ἕνεκα μᾶλλον ἢ ὑμῶν αὐτῶν· εἰ μὲν γὰρ οὐδὲν ἀδικῶ, οὐδὲ ὑμεῖς βούλεσθε δηπου ἀναιτίως μισεῖν τινα τῶν ὑμετέρων πολιτῶν· εἰ δὲ ἀδικῶ, κατ' ἐμοῦ ὁ λόγος ἔσται, οὐχ ὑπὲρ ἐμοῦ· καὶ οὕτως γε μείζω ὑμῶν ὑφέξω τιμωρίαν ἢ αὐταὶ ζητεῖτε· τὸ γὰρ ἐξελεγχθῆναι ποιηρὸν ὄντα τῷ παντὶ δεινότερον τοῦ λεωθῆναι ἢ καταφλεγῆναι

2 καὶ πρῶτον μὲν μαθέτε ὅτι οὐ δοκεῖ ὑμῖν φοβερά, οἱ λίθοι καὶ τὸ πῦρ, οὐδενὶ φοβερὰ ἐστιν, οὐδ' ἐστί γε τούτοις ἰσχυροί· ἄλλα παντῶν ἀσθενέστατοι, ἐκτὸς εἰ μή τις ἠρίθμει[1] τὴν τῶν λῃστῶν καὶ τῶν μαινομένων δύναμιν· πόλεως δὲ καὶ δήμου ἰσχὺς ἐν ἑτέροις ἐστί, καὶ πρώτόν γε ἐν τῷ φρονεῖν[2] καὶ τὰ δίκαια ποιεῖν.

[1] ἐ added by Casaubon. [2] ἠρίθμει ἀριθμεῖ Emperius.
[3] φρονεῖν] συμφρονεῖν Emperius ex marg. Morel

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[1] Cf. § 10. [2] Cf. §§ 4 and 19-13.

THE FORTY-SIXTH DISCOURSE · DELIVERED IN HIS NATIVE CITY PRIOR TO HIS PHILOSOPHICAL CAREER

I am not so astounded at your conduct, gentlemen, shocking as it is, but since I cannot see any justification for your anger against me, I am in a quandary. For while justifiable anger can be assuaged by entreaty, hatred that is unjust who could hea.? However, I ask you to give me a hearing,' since I speak as much on your account as on my own. For if I am guilty of no wrong, neither do you, I presume, wish to hate without a cause one of your own citizens; while if I am guilty, my words will be harmful instead of helpful to me, and thus I shall undergo at your hands a punishment greater than you yourselves are seeking. For it is in every way more dreadful to be proved a scoundrel than to be stoned to death or consumed by fire.' And you must recognize first of all that the things which seem terrible to you—stones and fire—are not terrible to anybody, and that you are not really strong because of these things, but weakest of all—unless one were to take into account the strength of brigands and madmen. But as for a city and a government by the people, strength lies in other things, and first and foremost in wisdom and fair dealing.

Περὶ μὲν γὰρ τοῦ πατρὸς οὐδὲν ἐμὲ δεῖ λέγειν εἰ ἀγαθὸς ἦν· δεῖ γὰρ εὐφημεῖν αὐτοῦ καὶ κοινῇ καὶ καθ' ἕκαστον, ὅπου ἂν μνησθῶμεν, ὡς οὐ φαύλου πολίτου· δεῖ μέντοι εἰδέναι ὑμᾶς ὅτι οὐδὲν ἐφέλκος ἐκείνῳ ἐστὶ τούτων τῶν ἐπαινῶν· ἀλλ' ὅταν ἡμᾶς τοὺς ἐξ αὐτοῦ ἀποδέχησθε, τότε κἀκείνου μέμνησθε. καὶ περὶ τοῦ πάππου δὲ τοῦ ἡμετέρου οὐκ ἂν εἴποι οὐδεὶς οὔτε ὡς κατήσχυνε τὴν πόλιν οὔτε ἐκ οὐδενὸς ἀνήλωσεν ἐκ τῶν ἑαυτοῦ· τὴν γὰρ οὐσίαν ἣν εἶχε πατρῴαν καὶ κοπιῶν ἅπασαν εἰς φιλοτιμίαν ἀνάλωσας, ὥστε μηδὲν ἔχειν λοιπόν, ἑτέραν ἐπτήσατο ἀπὸ παιδείας καὶ παρὰ τῶν αὐτοκρατόρων· καὶ τοιοῦτος εἰς οὗτος οὐδέποτε φανεὶς χρήμα αἰτήσαμενος ἐν τοιαύτῃ φίλῳ καὶ σπουδῇ, φυλάττων δὲ καὶ ταμιευόμενος τὴν τοῦ αὐτοκράτορος προθυμίαν εἰς ὑμᾶς· εἰ δὲ τῷ δοκεῖ φίλαυτα τὸ πολίτων ὑμέτερον ἀναμιμνήσκειν ὑμᾶς εὐνοίας καὶ ἀρετῆς, οὔτος οὐκ οἶδ' ὅπως εὖ παθεῖν αὐτὸς ὑπὸ τοῦ βούλεται· ἐκ τοιούτων δὴ ὄντες ἡμεῖς, εἰ καὶ σφόδρα ποιηροὶ ἡμεν, ἀλλά τοι δι' ἑκάστου ἐπτροπῆς τινος ἀξιοῖ ἡμᾶς οὐχὶ λειοσθῆναι ὑφ' ὑμῶν οὐδὲ καταφλεχθῆναι.

Σκοπεῖτε δὲ καὶ τοῦτο, ὦ ἄνδρες, μὴ ἀγνώμονες· ἡμῶν γὰρ ὁ πατὴρ οὐσίαν κατέλιπε· τῇ μὲν δόξῃ μεγάλην, δυνάμει δὲ μικρὰν καὶ πολλῷ ἄλλῳ ἑτέρῳ· οὐ μείων γὰρ ἢ τετταράκοντα μυριάδες ἦσαν χρεῶν καὶ πράγματα τοιαῦτα ἔξωθεν,

[1] κατόδων Reiske: ἀνόδων

[1] We know nothing of the father's father, even his name. Dio's attitude is recorded in [illegible] by [illegible].

[2] the maternal grandfather: cf. Or. 41. 6 and 44. 5.

Now with reference to my father, there is no need for me to tell whether he was a good citizen, for you are always singing his praises both collectively and individually whenever you refer to him as being no ordinary citizen. You should know however that these words of praise of yours are of no use to him on the other hand when you give your approval to me, his son then you have been mindful of him too. Again no one could say of my grandfather either that he disgraced the city or that he spent nothing on it out of his own means. For he spent on public benefactions all that he had from his father and his grandfather so that he had nothing left at all and then he acquired a second fortune by his learning[1] and from imperial favour. Moreover it is plain that he asked for no favour for himself though held in such great friendship and esteem but rather that he guarded and husbanded for you the goodwill of the Emperor[2]. But if anyone thinks it fit to charge to rendering of goodwill and favour on the part of your own citizens I do not know how such a man can wish to be treated well himself. Being descended, then from such forebears even if I were an utter knave myself, yet surely on their account I should merit some consideration instead of being stoned or burned to death by you.

But consider my own claims too gentlemen, not unsympathetically. For my father left us an estate which, while reputed to be large, was small in value, yes much less than that of others for no less than four hundred thousand drachmas were in bills receivable, besides foreign business ventures of such nature

[1] We do not know what branch of learning.
[2] Possibly the Emperor Claudius.

ὥστε πολὺ τῶν χρεῶν εἶναι ταῦτα χαλεπώτερα· οὐδὲ γὰρ ἀσφάλεια, ὡς εἰπεῖν οὐδενὸς ἡμῖν τῶν ὄντων ὑπῆρχεν ἀλλὰ τῇ αὐτοῦ δυνάμει πιστεύων ἐκεῖνος ἅπαντα ἐκέκτητο, ὡς οὐδενὸς ἀμφισβητή-
6 σοντος. ἐν δὲ τοῖς τοιούτοις ἀπολειφθεὶς οὐδέπω μὲν καὶ νῦν τὸ ἐπιβάλλον αὐτῷ μέρος τῶν χρεῶν διαλέλυμαι, λελειτούργηκα δὲ ὑμῖν τὰς μεγίστας λειτουργίας καὶ συνοίκοις ἐμοῦ πλείους τῶν ἐν τῇ πόλει πλουσιωτέρους δὲ ἐμοῦ πολλοὺς ὄντας ἐπιστάσθε καὶ αὐτοί· τί οὖν ἐστιν ἐφ' ὅτῳ ἐμοὶ ὀργίζεσθε καὶ ἄτιμον ἐξ ἁπάντων εἶναι καὶ τὸν δεῖνα προβεβλήσθε καὶ λίθους καὶ πῦρ ἐφ' ἡμᾶς φέρετε, καὶ μηδεὶς ὑπὲρ ἐκείνου μὰ φῇ λέγειν ἵνα μὲν γὰρ ἐπ' οὐδένα οὐδὲ τῶν ἀδικούντων οὕτως ἔδει παροξυνεσθαι πλὴν ἐμοῦ γε ἀποχρῆ τὰ καθ' ἑαυτόν.

7 Καὶ οἰκοπεῖτε καὶ τὰ ἄλλα ὁποῖός εἰμι πολίτης ἐγώ, πρὸς ὄντινα βούλεσθε παραβάλλοντες τοσούτων[3] οὓς οὐ κατέκαστε. ἔστι μὲν γὰρ χώρια μοι καὶ πάντα ταῦτα ἐν τῇ ὑμετέρᾳ γῇ· τῶν δὲ ἐμοὶ γεγενημένων οὐδὲν πώποτε οὐδεὶς οὔτε πλούσιος οὔτε πένης—πολλοὶ δὲ καὶ τῶν τοιούτων μοι γεγενήσαν ἠτιάσατο ἐμὲ ὡς ἀφαιρούμενος τινος ἢ ἐκβαλλόμενος, οὔτε δικαίως οὔτε ἀδίκως· εἰμὶ δὲ αὐτὸς οὔτε[4] ὑπέρδεινος εἰπεῖν οὔτε[5] ἴσως ἁπάν-
8 των ὕστατος ἐν τῷ λέγειν· ἔστιν οὖν ὄντινα ἐν τῷ[6] λόγῳ ἐλυπήσα, πράγμα ἐπαγαγών τινι τῶν

[1] αὐτοῦ Emperius: αὐτοῦ.
[2] ἀφορμὴ τὰ Casaubon: αὐτὰ χρή M, χρή L B
[3] παραβάλλοντες τοσούτων Ar. ms.: παραβάλλοντες τούτων Reiske: παραβάλλων' τοσούτων M, παραβάλλω' ἀνὰ τούτων L B
[4] οὔτε Emperius: οὐδέ.
[5] τῷ] deleted by Arnim.

that they were far more troublesome than the bills. For we had no security [illegible] say for any part of our assets, but my father had acquired all his wealth through trusting to his own influence, believing that no one would contest his claims. Yet, left as I was in such a situation, while I have not even now succeeded in securing a settlement of that part of the loans which [illegible] to me, I have performed for you the greatest [illegible] fact no one in the city has more of them to his credit than I have. Yet you yourselves know that many are wealthier than I am. What is [illegible] that makes you angry with me and why of all the citizens have you singled out for dishonour me and what [illegible] and why do you threaten me with stoning and burning? And yet no one can say that I am speaking in behalf of that man. For though perhaps you should not be so exasperated at [illegible] even among the wrongdoers, still my own troubles are enough for me.[1]

And I pray you, for what sort of citizen I am in other respects, [illegible] comparing me with whom you please, of all whom you do not consign to the flames. For example, though I have resided at [illegible] your territory for [illegible] none of my neighbours, whether rich or poor, and many of the latter class are my neighbours, has ever lodged complaint against me, either justly or unjustly, alleging that he was being deprived of something or being cheated. Nor am I rather over-clever as a speaker or, if I may say so, poorest of all in that art. Well then, is there any one whom I have injured by my words by causing trouble for any one

[1] He had at least two brothers. [illegible] Or. 44. 6.

[2] One [illegible] years ago and from his failure to name his neighbours that they were not on good terms, possibly [illegible] feuds.

ἀπραγμόνων ἢ κατασκευάσας ἐπήρειαν, ἢ περὶ τῆς οὐσίας ἐποίησα κινδυνεύσαί τινα, ὡς Καισαρι προσηκουσης ἢ ἐν συνηγορίᾳ προύδωκα.

Καὶ μὴν τῆς γε νῦν ἀπορίας οὐδεὶς μᾶλλον ἐμοῦ αἰτίος· πότερον γὰρ σῖτον ἁπάντων πλεῖστον γεωργῶν κατακέλεικα τοῦτον, αὔξων τὴν τιμήν, ἀλλ' ἐπίστασθε αὐτοὶ τὴν δύναμιν τῶν ἐμῶν χωρίων, ὅτι σπάνιον εἴ ποτε ἀπεδόμην σῖτον καὶ τοῦθ' ὅταν ὑπερβάλῃ τιν πληθει, ἐν δὲ τοῖς τοσούτοις[1] ἔτεσιν οὐδὲ τὸν ἀρκοῦντα ἔχω, ἀλλ' ἔστι μοι ἡ πᾶσα ἐπικαρπία ἐξ οἴνου καὶ βοσκημάτων· ἀλλ' ἀργύριον δανείζων οὐ βουλομαι παρεχειν εἰς τὴν τοῦ σιτου ὠνην· οὔκουν[2] οὐδὲ περι τουτου οὐδέν με δεῖ λεγειν· οἶδατε γὰρ ὑμεῖς καὶ τουτ δανειζοντας ἐν τῇ πόλει καὶ τοὺς δανειζομένους.

Τί οὖν ἐστιν ὅ γε ἐγὼ ποιήσαι δυνάμενος, ὥστε ἀπαλλάξαι ὑμᾶς τῆς ἀπορίας, οὐ βουλομαι, ἢ διοτι προς ἐμὲ οὕτως ἔχετε, ὅτι νὴ Δια τὰς στοὰς ἐπὶ τῶν θερμῶν ᾠκοδόμηκα καὶ ἐργαστηρια· τοῦτο γάρ ἐστιν ὁ φασιν ἔνοι ἀδικεῖσθαι ὑπ' ἐμοῦ τὴν πόλιν. καὶ τινα πώποτε ἢ ὑμεῖς ἢ ἄλλος τις ἀνθρώπων ἐμεμφατο ἐν ἀγρῷ αὐτοῦ[4] οἰκιαν οἰκοδομοῦντα; ἢ παρα τοῦθ' ὁ σῖτος πλειονός ἐστι;[5] καιτοι πέντε μυριάδων ἐώνημαι τὰ χωριον, τῷ παντὶ πλείονος τιμῆς τῆς ἀξιας· ἀλλ' ἐγω αἰσχύνομαι νὴ τὸν Δία

[1] τῶν added by Reiske. [2] τοιούτοις] τοιούτους Reiske.
[3] οὔκουν Emperius: οὐκοῦν.
[4] ἐν ἀγρῷ αὐτοῦ F perius ἢ ἄγρῳ αὐτοῦ.
[5] παρὰ τοῦθ' ὁ σῖτος πλείονος ἐστι Casaubon: παρὰ τοῦτο οὗτος πλείονος ἐστι M, ὅτι παρὰ τοῦτον οὗτος πλείων ἐστὶ UB.

who loves peace and quiet or by contriving some outrage against him? Or have I placed anyone in jeopardy touching his estate, pretending that it belongs to Caesar or have I as advocate played false to any one?

Again, no man is more blameless than I am in connexion with the present shortage. Have I produced the most grain of all and then put it under lock and key, raising the price? Why you yourselves know the productive capacity of my farms—that I rarely if ever have sold grain even when the harvest is unusually productive, and that in all these years I have not had even enough for my own needs but that the income from my land is derived entirely from wine and cattle. Nay but, some one may say, though I lend money, I am unwilling to supply it for the purchase of grain. There is no need for me to say anything on that score either for you know both those who lend money in our city and those who borrow.[1]

What is it, then, which I might do to relieve you from your distress but which I refuse to do, or what is it that makes you feel toward me as you do? It is because, by Heaven, I have built the colonnades near the hot springs and workshops too—for this is the injury some cause the city is suffering at my hands. Yet whom have either you or any other person ever taken to task for building a house on his own farm? Or is it that which makes grain dearer? Why, I bought the land at fifty thousand drachmas a price altogether higher than its worth.[2] Nay, I am

[1] He seems to decide in the charge of money lending. In these times the money lender was not in good repute.

[2] He offers this to show that he is not of a grasping disposition.

καὶ τοὺς θεούς, εἴ τις τῶν πολιτῶν, οὐ γὰρ δή γε ἡ πόλις, οὕτω μοχθηρός,[1] ὥστε λυπεῖσθαι καὶ φθονεῖν ἐάν τινα ὁδὴ στοὰν ἢ ἐργαστήριον ἢ οἰκοδομηκότα.

10 Καὶ μὴν τό γε πρᾶγμα ἐφ' ᾧ παρωξύνθητε δεῖται μέν τινος ἐπιμελείας ἀληθῶς, οὐ μέντοι ἀνήκεστόν ἐστιν οὐδὲ ὥστε τοιαῦτα ποιεῖν· ἡ γὰρ τιμὴ τοῦ σίτου τῆς μὲν συνηθείας παρ' ἡμῖν πλείων γέγονεν, οὐ μὴν ὥστε ἀπειπεῖν· ἀλλ' εἰσὶ πόλεις ἐν αἷς ἀεὶ τοσούτου ἐστὶν ὅταν ἄριστα ἔχῃ· πάλιν αὖ θορυβεῖτε, ὥσπερ ἐμοῦ λέγοντος ὅτι καὶ παρ' ὑμῖν αὐτὸν τοσούτου προσήκει εἶναι καὶ μηδέποτε ἥττονος· ἐγὼ δὲ φημι δεῖν προσέχειν μὲν ὅπως ἐλάττονος ἔσται, μὴ μέντοι πικρῶς οὕτως ἔχειν ἐπὶ τῷ συμβεβηκότι μηδὲ ἐξεστάναι ὡς τά γε γενόμενα νῦν οὐχὶ τοιαῦτά ἐστιν οἷα ἐπὶ τοιούτῳ πράγματι, ἀλλ' εἰ τὰ τέκνα ὑμῶν καὶ τὰς γυναῖκας ἀνῃρήκειμεν, οὐδὲν ἂν' εἴχετε ποιῆσαι χαλεπώ-

11 τερον· τὰ γὰρ πολίταις ἑαυτῶν ὀργιζομένους· εἰ μὲν ἀδίκως ἢ δικαίως ἐῶ, πολίταις δ' οὖν καὶ τούτοις ἐπιτιμοῖς καὶ μηδενὸς χείροσι[2]—μὴ δοῦναι λόγον μηδὲ λαβεῖν, ἀλλ' εὐθὺς λιθάζειν καὶ κατακαίειν τὰς οἰκίας, ἵνα, εἰ ἐδύνασθε, μετὰ τῶν παίδων αὐτοὺς καὶ τῶν γυναικῶν συμφλέξητε, τίνων ἐστὶν ἀνθρώπων, ἐμοὶ μέν, νὴ τὸν Δία καὶ τοὺς θεούς, εἰ καὶ[4] χαλεπῶς ἀκούσεσθε, οὐ δοκεῖ τὰ τοιαῦτα εἶναι τῶν ἐνδεῶς πραττόντων οὐδὲ τῶν

[1] μοχθηρὸν Casaubon : μοχθηρά.
[2] ἂν added by Hertlein. [3] χείροσι Morel : χείρων.
[4] καὶ added by Renke.

ashamed by all that is holy if any of the citizens—for of course it is not the city itself—is so depraved as to feel hurt and jealous if he sees that somebody has built a colonnade or a workshop.[1]

Besides, though the matter over which you have become incensed truly does require some attention, still it is not beyond repair or such as to make you act as you are acting. For while the cost of grain has risen higher than what is customary here, it is not so high as to make you desperate. Why, there are cities in which it always is at that price, when conditions are best. There you go making a tumult once more,[1] as if I were saying it ought to be that price at Prusa too, and never lower. But the point I am making is that, while it is necessary to take steps to make it cheaper, still it is not necessary to feel so bitter over what has happened or to lose your senses; for the way you have acted just now is not the conduct befitting such a matter; nay, if I had murdered your children and your wives you could not have behaved with greater savagery. For to be enraged at one's own fellow citizens—I care not whether justly or unjustly, but at all events at fellow citizens, citizens in good standing, yes, as good as anybody, and not to let them explain or to make an explanation to them, but without more ado to try to stone them and burn their houses, with a view to consuming in one conflagration, if possible, them and their children and their wives—what kind of human beings act that way? In my opinion, I swear by all that is holy, no matter if you will be angry to hear it, such conduct is not that of men in needy circum-

[1] This seems to have been greeted with an uproar when he first rose to speak. Cf. § 1.

οὐκ ἐχόντων τὰ ἀναγκαῖα. ἡ γὰρ ἔνδεια σωφροσύνην ποιεῖ.

Καὶ ταῦτα εἰ μὴ δοκεῖτε ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν λέγεσθαι,
12 πλεῖστον ἁμαρτάνετε. εἰ γὰρ τοιοῦτοι ἔσεσθε κἂν ὀργισθῆτέ τῳ—πολλὰ δὲ εἰκὸς ὡς ἐν πόλει συμβῆναι καὶ δίκαια καὶ ἄδικα—τηλικαύτην ἀξιώσετε τιμωρίαν λαμβάνειν ὥστ' εὐθὺς μετὰ τῶν παίδων κατακαεῖν καί τινας[1] τῶν γυναικῶν, ἀνθρώπων ἐλευθέρων, ἀναγκάζειν ὑμῖν ὁρᾶσθαι περιερρηγμένας καὶ ἱκετευούσας ὑμᾶς ὥσπερ ἐν πολέμῳ, τίς οὕτως ἀνόητος καὶ ἀτυχὴς ἄνθρωπός ἐστιν, ὅστις ἐν τοιαύτῃ πόλει ζῆν αἱρήσεται μίαν ἡμέραν, πολὺ γὰρ κρεῖττον φυγάδα εἶναι καὶ παροικεῖν ἐπὶ ξένης ἢ τοιαῦτα πάσχειν ἐπεὶ καὶ νῦν ἡ πρόφασις ἡ λεγομένη[2] δι' ἣν ὑμᾶς ἀποστραπῆναί φασι τῆς οἰκίας τῆς ἐμῆς, ὑπιδομένους τοῦ
13 στενωποῦ τὸ βάθος, ὁρᾶτε οἷόν ἐστιν εἰ γὰρ ἐμὲ τοῦτο ἔσωσε, καιρὸς ἤδη τὸ λοιπὸν ὡς ἐν στρατοπέδῳ τῇ πόλει τὰς δυσχωρίας καταλαμβάνειν καὶ τὰ ὑψηλὰ ἢ ἀπότομα καίτοι μὰ τοὺς θεοὺς οὐδὲ ἐν τοῖς στρατοπέδοις ζητοῦσιν ἄλλος ἄλλου ἀσφαλέστερον σκηνοῦν, ἀλλὰ πρὸς τοὺς πολεμίους αὐτοῖς ἡ φυλακή ἐστιν

Τῇ μὲν οὖν τύχῃ χάρις δι' ἣν ἀπετράπετε, εἴτε τοῦτο νοήσαντες εἴτε ἄλλο ὁτιοῦν, οὐ μέντοι ἀληθῶς ὑπείδεσθε οὐ γὰρ ἂν ἔγωγε ἠμυνάμην ὑμᾶς,

[1] καὶ τινας Selden τινὰ καὶ.
[2] ἡ λεγομένη] ἐλάττομεν ἢ M, ἡ πλαττομένη Arnim.

stances or seeking the necessaries of life. For need develops self-control.

And if you do not suppose these remarks of mine are being offered for your good, you are very much mistaken. For if you are going to be here this and, in case you become angry with any one, and many things are liable to happen, in anger, both right and wrong, you are going to see little enough, or rather a parsimony as further than to consume with fire the vessels of a savage, savage [illegible] children and to force some of the women, [illegible] as they are, to appear before you with garments rent, [illegible] you as if in time of war, what more is so [illegible] so unfortunate, that he will choose to live in such a city a single day? The fact is, it is far better to be an exile and a stranger on foreign soil than to be subjected to such outrage. Why, even now the alleged reason which they say made you turn back from my house, having become suspicious, forsooth, at the depth of the lane, we have thirsty [illegible]. For if that is what saved us, it is high time, from now on, as if the city were an armed camp, to escape the difficult terrain and the [illegible] or precipitous pass. And yet, God knows, not even in armed camps does one wander near a safer spot than his neighbour in which to pitch his tent; no, these precautions are aimed at the men with whom they are at war.

So, although my thoughts are due to the lucky chance which made you turn back, whether this was your motive or anything else at all, still you had no real reason to be suspicious. For I should not have warded you off, so far as that is concerned, you

* The lane seems to have become so crowded, because of traffic and rain, that they could not see over its sides.

ἀλλὰ τούτου γε ἕνεκα πολλὴ ὑμῖν ἀσφάλειά ἐστιν ὅταν βούληθε κατακαίειν τὴν οἰκίαν, ἥρκει δέ μοι τὴν γυναῖκα καὶ τὸ παιδιον λαβόντα ἀποχωρεῖν

14 Καὶ μηδεὶς νομίσῃ ὡς ἐγὼ ὑπὲρ ἐμαυτοῦ ἀγανακτῶν ταῦτα εἴρηκα μᾶλλον ἢ ὑπερ ὑμῶν δεδικὼς μήποτε ἄρα διαβληθῆτε ὡς βίαιοι καὶ παράνομοι. οὐ γὰρ λανθάνει τῶν ἐν ταῖς πόλεσιν οὐδὲν τοὺς ἡγεμόνας—λέγω δὲ τοὺς μείζους ἡγεμόνας τῶν ἐνθάδε—ἀλλ' ὥσπερ τῶν παιδίων τῶν ἀτακτοτερων οἴκοι πρὸς τοὺς διδασκάλους κατηγοροῦσιν οἱ προσήκοντες, οὕτωσὶ καὶ τὰ τῶν δήμων ἁμαρτήματα πρὸς ἐκείνους ἀπαγγέλλεται· ταῦτα μὲν οὖν οὔτε καλῶς οὔτε συμφερόντως αὐτοῖς πράττοιτε[1] ἄν, τὸ δὲ ἀξιοῦν ἐπιμελεῖσθαι τῆς ἀγορᾶς καὶ τοὺς δυναμένους χειροτονεῖν καὶ[2] μὴ λειτουργηκότας, εἰ δὲ μή γε, οὓς ἂν βούληθε, σωφρονούντων τε[3] ἀνθρώπων ἐστὶ καὶ πρός γε ταῦτα οὐδεὶς ὑμῖν ἐναντιώσεται.

[1] πράττοιτε Emperius: πράττετε.
[2] After καὶ Capps deletes τοὺς.
[3] τε Reiske: δὲ

[1] Cf. § 8, where Dio seems to refer to the activity of informers.
[2] It is not clear whether this proposal for the election of

are absolutely safe in burning down my house any time you please, and I was content to take my wife and baby and leave.

And let no one imagine that it is in anger over my own position that I have said these things rather than in fear for yours, lest possibly you may some day be accused of being violent and lawless. For nothing which takes place in the cities escapes the attention of the proconsuls—I mean the more important ones in these parts; on the contrary, just as relatives denounce to the teachers the children who are too disorderly at home, so also the misdeeds of the communities are reported to the proconsuls.[1] Now while such conduct as yours would not be honourable or advantageous for yourselves, to demand that there should be supervision of your market and that those men should be elected who are financially able and have not performed liturgies, but if that cannot be, that then the choice of supervisors should rest with you, this, I say, is the course of sensible human beings and in this no one will oppose you.[2]

supervisors of the market is Dio's own contribution to the discussion or whether he is merely seconding the proposal of another.

THE FORTY-SEVENTH DISCOURSE: A SPEECH IN THE PUBLIC ASSEMBLY AT PRIENE

cern a project to "repair an ancient and ruinous bath" at Prusa. A sequel is found in 70, in which Pliny proposes to abandon the original structure, once a private residence of some pretensions but now "a hideous heap," and to build afresh in a district now "exceedingly deformed." More interesting still for our present purpose is 81, in which it is reported that Coccceianus Dio has been eager to have the Council of Prusa accept for the city "an imposing edifice which has been erected under his charge." A certain Flavius Archippus, acting through his attorney Europus, had demanded that Dio first render an account of expenditures, charging that the work had not been carried out according to specifications and adding that Dio had been guilty of a grave offence in setting up a statue of Trajan in the same edifice in which were buried Dio's wife and son. Dio had been prompt in presenting to the proconsul the required statement and was urging a speedy hearing, but his opponents continued to create delays. We do not know the outcome of the squabble, but Trajan's reply (82), while recommending an inspection of Dio's accounts, as a matter of public interest, exhibits slight concern over the charges laid against him.

Thus we are led to infer that the popular support achieved by Or. 47 sustained Dio in the years that followed the completion of the colonnade and encouraged him to undertake with renewed zeal some of the projects associated with the ambitious program spoken of in Or. 45. 12-14. It is equally clear that he still had to contend with the opposition of some of his fellow citizens.

47 ΔΙΙΜΗΓΟΡΙΑ ΕΝ ΤΗΙ ΠΑΤΡΙΔΙ

1 Πρῶτον μέν, ὦ ἄνδρες, ὅταν ἀναστῶ, μὴ πάντως ἡγεῖσθε λόγων ἀκούσεσθαι θαυμαστῶν μηδὲ ἐπιστήμων· λέγω δὲ οἷον πρὸς ἡδονήν τινα ἢ κάλλος ἢ σοφίαν εἰργασμένων· ἴσως μὲν γὰρ οὐδ' ἂν ἄλλως ἡμεν ἱκανοὶ πρὸς τὸ τοιοῦτον, ἀλλὰ τύχῃ τινὶ τὸ πλῆθος καὶ τὰς πόλεις πάσας ἐξηπατήσαμεν· εἰ δ' οὖν, ἄλλα νῦν πολλὴν ἀπορίαν καὶ λήθην εἰκὸς ἡμῖν γεγονέναι τῶν τοιούτων λόγων· ἁποῖα γὰρ ἂν πράττῃ τις καὶ ἐν ὁποίοις ἂν ᾖ πραγμασιν, ἀνάγκη καὶ τοὺς λόγους εἶναι παραπλησίους· ἡμεῖς δὲ πολὺν ἤδη χρόνον σμικρὰ καὶ ἄδοξα πράττομεν.

2 Καὶ τοῦτο ἴσως[2] ἀναγκαῖόν ἐστιν· ὡς ἐγὼ πρότερον μὲν ἐθαύμαζον τῶν φιλοσόφων τοὺς καταλιπόντας μὲν τὰς αὐτῶν πατρίδας οὐδενὸς ἀναγκάζοντος, παρ' ἄλλοις δὲ ζῆν ἑλομένους, καὶ ταῦτα ἀποφαινομένους αὐτοὺς ὅτι δεῖ τὴν πατρίδα τιμᾶν καὶ περὶ πλείστου ποιεῖσθαι καὶ ὅτι πράττειν τὰ κοινὰ καὶ πολιτεύεσθαι τῷ ἀνθρώπῳ κατὰ

[1] οὐδ' ἂν Crosby : οὐδέ.
[2] τοῦτο ἴσως Emperius : τούτους ὡς.

[1] Dio speaks bitterly of the pettiness of the opposition to his favourite project of embellishing Prusa. Cf. § 8.

THE FORTY-SEVENTH DISCOURSE: A SPEECH IN THE PUBLIC ASSEMBLY AT PRUSA

In the first place, my friends, do not by any means suppose when I rise to speak that you are about to hear a discourse that is extraordinary or remarkable, I mean, for example, one composed to produce a kind of pleasure or to exhibit beauty or wisdom. For possibly I should not in any event have been equal to that sort of thing, but it may be that by good luck I have deceived the public and all the cities, yet be that as it may, it stands to reason that now at all events I have experienced a great lack, indeed a complete forgetfulness, of that sort of eloquence. For a man's words must needs be coloured by the nature of what he is doing and in which he is engrossed, and in my case I have long been engaged in petty and inglorious affairs.

Now perhaps this experience of mine is a matter of necessity, for previously I used to be surprised at those philosophers who abandoned their own countries under no compulsion and chose to dwell among other peoples, and what is more, despite their own claim that a man should honour his fatherland and regard it as of supreme importance and that activity in public affairs and playing one's part as a citizen is

φύσιν ἐστίν· λέγω δὲ τὸν Ζήνωνα, τὸν Χρύσιππον, τὸν Κλεανθήν, ὧν οὐδεὶς οἶκοι ἔμεινε ταῦτα λαγόν-
των· οὐκ ἄρα ἐφρόνουν ἃ ἔλεγον, πάντων μά-
2 λιστα, ὡς ἐμοὶ δοκοῦσιν· ἀλλὰ καλὸν μὲν ἡγοῦντο
καὶ τῷ ὄντι μακάριον καὶ πρέπον ἀνδρᾶσι σοφοῖς
πρᾶγμα τῆς ἑαυτοῦ πόλεως ἐπιμέλειαν[1]· τὰς δὲ
ἐνούσας δυσκολίας καὶ τὰς χαλεπότητας ὑφεωρῶντο
καὶ τῶν μὲν ἄγνοιαν, τῶν δὲ φθόνον, τῶν δὲ ἀγκω-
μοσύνην—εἰ μή τις σοφὸς ὢν ἅμα δύναιτο τὴν
τοῦ Ἡρακλείους ἔχειν ἰσχὺν καὶ δύναμιν· τοῦτο δὲ
ἀδύνατον ἡγοῦντο.

4 Καίτοι τὸν Ἡρακλῆ αὐτὸν ἀκούομεν τῆς μὲν
Αἰγύπτου κρατῆσαι καὶ τῆς Λιβύης, ἔτι δὲ τῶν
περὶ τὸν Εὔξεινον Ποντον οἰκούντων, καὶ Θρᾳκῶν
καὶ Σκυθῶν, καὶ τὸ Ἴλιον ἐλεῖν μικρῷ στόλῳ
παραβαλόντα καὶ πάντων ἄρξαντα τῶν ἐθνῶν τού-
των καὶ[2] καταστῆσαι βασιλέα αὐτόν· ὅπότε δὲ εἰς
Ἄργος ἀφίκοιτο, τὴν Αὐγείου κόπρον μεταφέρειν
ἢ τοὺς ὄφεις θηρᾶν ἢ τὰς ὄρνιθας διώκειν, ἵνα μὴ
ἐνοχλῶσι τοὺς ἐν Στυμφάλῳ γεωργούς, ἢ ἄλλα
τοιαῦτα ποιεῖν φαῦλα καὶ ταπεινὰ προσταττό-
μενον[3]· τελευταῖον δὲ εἰς Ἅιδου φασὶ πεμφθῆναι
αὐτόν· οὕτω σφόδρα ἐπιεικῶς[4] αὐτῷ χρήσασθαι τὸν
πολίτην· τοὺς δὲ Ἀργείους καὶ Θηβαίους ἐπαι-

[1] After σοφοῖς Arn. n. deletes τά.
[2] ἐκμάθειν Casaubon: ἐκμάθειν.
[3] μή Casaubon: δέ. [4] καὶ deleted by Reiske.
[5] προστεταγμένον Casaubon: προστεταγμένος.
[6] ἐπιεικῶς: ἐπιεικῶν Sonny.

[1] Dio believed, as a good Stoic, that the philosopher should take part in public affairs (cf. Or. 49. 9), but sad experience made him begin to distrust the doctrine.

[2] *Cf. Iliad* 5. 638–651. According to tradition he made Priam king.

the nature-deity of a human being! I am referring to Zeno, Chrysippus, and Cleanthes, not one of whom stayed at home despite these many words. Did they not then mean what they said? They above all others did so in my way of thinking. Why, they regarded Lycurgus for a man's own city as a noble and truly blessed and appropriate function for men of wisdom; on the other hand they used to view with distrust the Athenians and Lacedaemonians and such men as for part of some but not some on the part of others, and never benevolence on the part of all, others, unless a man of wisdom could at the same time possess the strength and power of a Heracles, however, this would seem impossible.

And yet we hear of Heracles how, that though he made himself master of Egypt and Libya and a so of the people who live about the Ionian Sea, both Thracians and Scythians, and though he captured Troy, having crossed over with a small army, and though after gaining victory over all these peoples, he actually set himself up as king,[1] and when he arrived in Argos[2] he busied himself with removing the dung from the stables of Augeas, or hunting wild beasts,[3] or chasing birds to keep them from troubling the farmers in Stymphalus, or with performing other such menial and humble tasks at the behest of another, and finally, they say, he was sent to Hades,[4] with such exceeding fairness did his fellow-townsman[5] treat him. But we hear that though the

[1] Having been maddened by Hera, Heracles slew his own children. He was then ordered by an oracle to be sold as a slave. Forty years later, King of Argos, which [illegible] in the Twelve Labors, some of which are here referred to.

[2] The Lernaean Hydra.

[3] To fetch [illegible].

[4] Everytheus.

νεῖν μὲν καὶ ἀγαπᾶν τὸν Ἡρακλέα, περιορᾶν δὲ ὑβριζόμενον.

5 Ἃ μοι δοκεῖ διανοηθεὶς Ὅμηρος, οὐ μόνον ποιητὴς ἀγαθὸς ὤν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῷ τρόπῳ φιλόσοφος, τὸν ἅπαντα ἀποδημεῖν χρόνον, ὥστε μηδένα γνῶναι τὴν πατρίδα αὐτοῦ, καὶ μᾶλλον, ὡς ἔοικεν, αἱρεῖσθαι πέντε καὶ εἴκοσι δραχμὰς προσαιτῶν λαμβάνειν, καὶ ταῦτα ὡς μωμόμενος, ἢ οἴκοι διάγειν τοιγαροῦν ἅπαντες ὕστερον ἠμφεσβήτησαν ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ· καὶ τὸ μὲν ἐκείνου ὄνομα παρὰ πᾶσιν Ἕλλησι καὶ βαρβάροις γιγνώσκεται, τὴν δὲ Ἴον οὐδὲ ἀκηκόασιν οἱ πολλοὶ σχεδόν, εἴπερ ἦν Ἰήτης, καὶ τῆς Χίου[1] οὐ πολὺς ἐστι λόγος οὐδὲ Κολοφώνος κεῖται ποιητὴν οὐ χειρόνα Ὁμήρου παρεχεται, τὸν Ἀπόλλωνα· Πυθαγόρας δὲ ἐκ Σάμου μὲν ἔφυγεν ἑκὼν τυραννουμένης, παρὰ δὲ τοῖς ἄλλοις ἅπασιν ἀνθρώποις, μάλιστα δὲ οἶμαι περὶ τὴν Ἰταλίαν, ἐτιμᾶτο ὡς θεός.

6 Τί οὖν, πάλαι τις ἤδη κάθηται λέγων, οὐ πρὸς Ὅμηρον καὶ Πυθαγόραν καὶ Ζήνωνα παραβάλλεις αὐτόν, Μὰ Δί' οὐκ ἔγωγε, πλὴν ὅτι πᾶσι τοῖς φιλοσόφοις ἔδοξε χαλεπὸς ἐν τῇ πατρίδι ὁ βίος ἐπεί τι οἴεσθε, οὐχὶ φιλεῖν[2] τὰς πατρίδας, ἀλλὰ

[1] After Χίου Reiske deletes τῆς πόλεως.
[2] οὐχὶ φιλεῖν Emperius: οὐκ ἐφίλουν

[1] Heracles was born at Thebes, and many of his earlier exploits are associated with that city.
[2] Cf. Or. 11. 15-16.
[3] A well known epigram runs as follows:

Ἑπτὰ πόλεις διερίζουσιν περὶ ῥίζαν Ὁμήρου,
Σμύρνα, Ῥόδος, Κολοφών, Σαλαμίς, Ἴος, Ἄργος, Ἀθῆναι.

Argives and Thebans[1] praised and admired Heracles, and they shut their eyes to his mistreatment.

It was the thought of this, it seems to me, which made Homer, who was not only a fine poet but also in his way a philosopher, spend his time abroad—so much so that no one could determine his country—and prefer to get twenty-five drachmas by begging,[2] and that too in the role of a madman, rather than live at home. And so it was that in later ages all men claimed him as their countryman.[3] Again, while Homer's name is well known among all Greeks and barbarians,[4] yet men, it is safe to say, have not even heard of Ios—if he really was born there—and there is not much talk of Chios or Colophon either, and yet Colophon can show a poet not inferior to Homer, namely Apollo.[5] Again, Pythagoras of his own volition fled from Samos when it was under the tyrant,[6] and yet among all other peoples, and especially, I believe, about the shores of Italy, he was honoured as a god.[7]

What of it,[8] some one in this and every place has been saying long since, are you comparing yourself with Homer and Pythagoras and Zeno? Nay, by Heaven, not I, except that it was the opinion of all the philosophers that life in their own native land was hard. For what think you? That they did not love

But we hear of many other claimants; Suidas includes in his long list even Rome itself!

[1] Cf. Or. 36. 9-10 and 53. 6-7.

[2] An ironic sort of alms which played an incongruous part in Greek history.

[3] Apollonius of Tyana, a native of Asia Minor, was "in the land of Lycaonia" (Philostratus, V. A. 1. 4).

[4] Iliad 1. 1 ff.

[5] Pythagoras established at Croton a mystic community in which he was revered, if not "honoured as a god."

τὸν Ὅμηρον ὑπὲρ μὲν Ὀδυσσέως ὀδύρεσθαι καὶ φάσκειν αὐτὸν ἐθέλειν τὸν καπνὸν ἰδοντα τὸν ἐκ τῆς Ἰθάκης παραχρῆμα ἀποθανεῖν, αὐτὸν δὲ μὴ στέργειν τὴν αὐτοῦ πάλιν, ἀλλ' οὐ τὸν οἰκεῖον ἔρωτα καὶ τὴν ἐπιθυμίαν ὁμολογεῖν, ἣν εἶχε τῆς
7 πατρίδος, ἐπ' ὀνόματι τοῦ Ὀδυσσέως, ὃς δὲ πάντα τὸν χρόνον ἔμενεν ἐν τῇ πατρίδι, πράττων ὅ τι δοκοίη τοῖς πολίταις καὶ τοῖς νόμοις, εἰ μέν τι μέγα ὤνησε τοὺς Ἀθηναίους, οὐκ ἔχω εἰπεῖν· τὴν δὲ βλάβην ἐπίσταμαι τὴν γενομένην αὐτοῖς· ἔτι γὰρ νῦν ὀνειδίζονται περὶ Σωκράτους, ὡς οὔτε δικαίως οὔτε ὁσίως τῷ ἀνδρὶ προσενεχθέντες, καὶ πάντων αὐτοῖς τῶν ὕστερον γενομένων κακῶν ταύτην φασὶ συμβῆναι τὴν αἰτίαν.

8 Ταῦτα μὲν ἀκηκοατε ἄλλως παρὰ ἀνθρώπου πλάνητος καὶ ἀδολέσχου· ὃ δ' οὖν ἔφην, παραιτοῦμαι ὑμᾶς μηδένα ἀπαιτεῖν ἐν τῷ παρόντι παρ' ἐμοῦ λόγον μεγαλόφρονα καὶ σοφόν, ἀλλ' ἰδιωτικὸν καὶ φαῦλον, ὁποῖα καὶ τὰ πράγματά ἐστιν· εὖ δ' ἴστε, ὥσπερ προειλόμην σιγᾶν ἀφ' οὗ νῦν ἧκον, οὐκ ἂν ἐφθεγξάμην, εἰ μή τι ἀναγκαῖον συμβέβηκεν· ἐγὼ γὰρ ἠφάμην πράγματος, ὃ μοι πολλῶν τῷ ὄντι πραγμάτων αἴτιον γεγονε καὶ θαυμαστῆς ἀηδίας· ὥστε πρότερον μὲν οὐκ ἤδειν τὰ τῶν Θετταλίδων[2]

[1] συμβεβήκει Reiske: συμβέβηκεν.
[2] Θετταλίδων Herwerden: Θετταλῶν.

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[1] Cf. Odyssey 1. 57-59:

αὐτὰρ Ὀδυσσεὺς
ἱέμενος καὶ καπνὸν ἀποθρωσκοντα νοήσας
ἠὲ γαίης, θανέειν ἱμείρεται.

[2] Socrates. Cf. Plato, Crito 52 a-b.

their home lands but that Homer, while he lamented over Odysseus and declared that Odysseus was willing to die for his sake if only he could see the smoke rising from [illegible] did not himself cherish [illegible] but on the contrary that he was not confessing under the name of Odysseus his own love and longing for his native hearth.[1] On the other hand, what I cannot say whether the man who always remained a lover of his fatherland, being whatever seemed best to his fellow citizens and the state, benefited the Athenians to any great extent. I do know the loss which they sustained in his death. For even now they are are reproached even unto Socrates for not having behaved toward him [illegible] only or praise, and it is said that the conduct of his accusers as the evils which befell them [illegible]

Now this is merely idle talk which you have heard from a 'vagabond' and a 'chatterbox.'[2] But as I was saying, I beg you not to expect from me at present a high minded sage address, but rather one which is unadorned and commonplace, not aware the matters of which it treats. But at me assure you, just as from the moment of my arrival this time I had purposed to maintain a [illegible] I should not have said a single word had not something urgent taken place. For I have taken in hand a problem which has caused me many real problems[3] and amazing and [illegible] Consequently, although formerly I did not understand what in the world was meant by the saying that the Thessalian witches

[1] Presumably the [illegible] epithets that have been applied [illegible]

[2] Or, he [illegible] his [illegible] to Homer [illegible]

[3] Dio here plays on the contradictory meanings of [illegible] and [illegible].

τί ποτέ ἐστι τὸ ἐφ' αὑτὰς τὴν σελήνην κατάγειν,
9 νῦν δὲ ἐπιεικῶς[1] ἔγνωκα. καὶ τὸν Ἀριστοτέλην
ἐνίοτε ἐμακάριζον, ὅστις Σταγειρίτης ὢν τὰ δὲ
Σταγειρα κώμη τῆς Ὀλυνθίας ἦν ἀλούσης δὲ
Ὀλυνθου συγγενόμενος Ἀλεξανδρῳ καὶ Φιλιππῳ
διεπράξατο οἰκισθῆναι πάλιν το χωρίον, καὶ μόνον
αὐτὸν ἔφασκον εὐτυχῆσαι τὴν εὐτυχίαν ταύτην,
ὥστε τῆς πατρίδος οἰκιστὴν γενέσθαι· μεταξὺ δὲ
πρῶην ἐνετύγχανον ἐπιστολή τις ἐν ᾗ ἐστι μετανοῶν
καὶ ὀδυρόμενος καὶ λέγων ὅτι τούτων τινὲς καὶ
τὸν βασιλέα καὶ τοὺς ἀφικνουμένους σατράπας
διαφθείρουσιν, ὥστε μηδὲν ἀγαθὸν γενέσθαι μηδὲ
ὅλως κατοικισθῆναι τὴν πόλιν.
10 Ὅπου δὲ καὶ τοῦτο ἐλπίσαι[2] τινάς, εἰ φυγάδες
ὄντες καὶ ἀπόλιδες πατρίδα ἕξουσι καὶ πολιτεύ-
σονται κατὰ νόμους ἐν ἐλευθερίᾳ, μᾶλλον δ'[3]
ἠροῦντο διοικεῖσθαι[4] κατὰ κώμας τοῖς βαρβάροις
ὁμοίως ἢ σχῆμα πόλεως καὶ ὄνομα ἔχειν, ἧπου
προσῆκε[5] θαυμάζειν καὶ εἰ ἄλλο τι λυπεῖ τινάς. δ'[6]
δ' οὖν Ἀριστοτέλης ἐπιστέλλων γέγραφεν ὡς τοῖς
πράγμασιν ἀπειρήκως—φησὶ γὰρ αἴρειν τοὺς δακ-
τύλους—κἀμὲ νομίζετε καὶ τοὺς ἰδίους δακτύλους

[1] ἐπιεικῶς Capps : ἐπιμελῶς.
[2] After ἐλπίσαι Pflugk deletes τὸ κατοικισθῆναι τοῖς ἐπιτοῦσι.
[3] δ' Reiske : λυπεῖ. [4] δ' added by Emperius.
[5] διοικεῖσθαι διωκεῖσθαι Reiske.
[6] προσῆκε] προσήκει Sauden. [7] δ Emperius : δ.

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[1] These y was noted for the practice of magic. Aristophanes, *Clouds* 749-752 makes comic reference to Thessalian women drawing down the moon. Dio appears to interpret the tradition with reference to attempting the impossible.

draw down to themselves the moon, now I have come to understand it fairly well. And I used to pity Aristotle at times because, being a native of Stagira, Stagira was a village in the territory of Olynthus, and having become the teacher of Alexander and an acquaintance of Philip, after the capture of Olynthus, he brought it about that Stagira was restored[1] and they used to say that he alone had had the good fortune to become founder of his fatherland. But meanwhile, quite recently, I came upon a letter in which he exhorts a change of heart and laments, saying that some of these settlers are trying to corrupt not only the king but also the satraps who came there so as to thwart any good outcome and to present entirely the most ignoble of the city.

But when some persons, rude and nomadic as they were, were actually approved by the prospect of having a fatherland and enjoying constitutional government in independence, but preferred to be scattered in villages like barbarians rather than to have the form and name of a city, would it be proper, I ask you, fellow-citizens, rise to matter what one envies certain persons? Accordingly, just as Aristotle has written in his letter as one who has become sick and tired of his troubles—for he says he is bending up his fingers[2]—you may consider that I too am bending up my own fingers, as well as any other fingers there

[1] Both Stagira and Olynthus were destroyed by Philip in 348 B.C. [illegible] was never [illegible] Aristotle [illegible] Stagira. Cf. Plutarch, *Alexander* 7 and *Vita Aristotelis Marc.* 216 a.

[2] Greek idiomatic [illegible] of the [illegible] of Theophrastus [illegible] 30 [illegible] extravagant phrasing of the [illegible] and to himself he says his extreme exaggeration.

11 αἴρειν καὶ εἴ τινές εἰσιν ἕτεροι· καὶ γὰρ δὴ πλεῖον ἰσχύουσιν ἢ τῶν ἀνθρώπων ἐκείνων κακοδαιμονία τῆς τοῦ Ἀριστοτέλους σπουδῆς, ὥστε οὐκ εἴασαν προβῆναι τὸ κωμῳδεῖν εἰς ἐξωμμα πόλεως, καὶ νῦν ἔτι ἀοίκητον ἐστιν· ἀλλ' ὅπως μὴ καὶ τοῦτό μου διαβάλῃ τις, ὡς ἐγὼ Στάγειρα καὶ κωμῳδῶ τὴν πόλιν ταύτην· δύναμαι γὰρ ὁμόσας εἰπεῖν μηδεμίαν ἄλλην πόλιν ἐμοὶ κρείττω πεφηνέναι, κἂν εἰ μόνον εἶχε τὸ χαλκεῖον τὸ τοῦ δαίμονος, ἃ ἐγὼ κατέλιπον ἐν τοῖς πόλεσι πυρθῶν καὶ τοῖς ἀκροπόλεσι.[a]

12 Ἵνα δ' οὖν μὴ ἐπιλάθωμαι οὗ χάριν ἀνέστην, ἁμάρτημα ἴσως ἡμάρτον ἀνθρώπινον· νῦν οὖν τύχα με βουλέσθω ὑποσχεῖν ζημίαν ἀντὶ τούτου τοῦ ἁμαρτήματος ἤ τι ποιεῖν· ἀξιῶ συμβούλους ὑμᾶς γενέσθαι πότερον καθελεῖν με τὸ ἔργον τοῖς ἐμαυτοῦ δαπάναις τὸ γεγονὸς καὶ ποιῆσαι πάντα ὁποῖα
13 ἦν πρότερον, ἀλλ' ἴσως οὐ δυνήσομαι· ἢ τι πρὸς θεῶν, εἰπατέ μοι· ἐγὼ μὲν γὰρ ᾤμην ὁρῶν τὰ τοιαῦτα πόλεις ἄλλας φιλοτιμουμένας, οὐ μόνον τὰς κατὰ τὴν Ἀσίαν λέγω καὶ Συρίαν καὶ Κιλικίαν, ἀλλὰ ταύτας τὰς ἀστυγείτονας καὶ πλησίον, τὴν τῶν Νικομηδέων, τὴν τῶν Νικαέων, τοὺς Καισαρεῖς τούτους, εὐγενεῖς μὲν ἀνθρώπους καὶ σφόδρα Ἕλληνας, πολὺ δὲ μικροτέραν τῆς ἡμετέρας οἰ-

[a] κἀμὲ παίζετε καὶ τοὺς ἐμοὺς δαιμονίους αἴρειν (τοῦτον τοὺς ἐμοὺς καὶ παίζετε) H, τοὺς ἐμοὺς κἀμὲ παίζετε καὶ τοὺς δαιμονίους αἴρειν M

[b] ἀκροπόλεσι, πυρωτόλεσι Wilamowitz.

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[a] Here Dio seems to contradict not only what he had said at the beginning of § 9 but also the express testimony of Plutarch and the author of the *Vita Aristotelis* previously cited. Dio may have inferred from the tone of Aristotle's

are. For in truth the infatuation of these fellows proved more than a match for the exertions of Aristotle, so that they did not permit the petty village to grow to the rank of a city, and to this day the spot is uninhabited. But let no one charge me with calling this city of ours a Stagira and a village; for I can declare on oath that no other city has appeared to me more excellent, even were it a province, as the saying of Socrates[1] which [illegible] the seekers of cities are [illegible] down.

However, lest I may not forget the reason why I took the floor, perhaps I have been guilty of a human error.[2] Wherefore, what penalty do you want me to suffer now in payment for this error, or what do you wish me to do? I ask you to give me your advice. Shall I [illegible] down at my own expense the work that I have accomplished, and make every thing just as it was before? But perhaps I shall not be able to do so. Or what else I do in Heaven's name? Do tell me! For I thought, as I perceived that other cities were ambitious in such matters, not merely the cities in Asia[3] and Syria and Cilicia, but those neighbouring cities, as Cæsarea at hand, Nicomedia, Nicæa, and Cæsarea[4] yonder, and Bosporus and very Greece, yet occupying a city much smaller than our own, and

letter that after I got home had gone far enough to warrant the [illegible] of his friends, the project came to naught.

[1] [illegible] has a good deal to say on the subject of this motto in Greek.

[2] Quoting his detractors.

[3] [illegible] error of not leaving his fatherland as did the [illegible] others named in [illegible].

[4] [illegible] province of Asia.

[5] Little is known of this Cæsarea. Its very location is a matter of dispute.

κοῦντας πολὺν, καὶ τοὺς πολιτευομένους παρ' ἐκείνοις, εἰ καὶ περὶ τῶν ἄλλων διαφέρονται,[1] τὰ γε τοιαῦτα ὁμοφρονοῦντας, καὶ τὸν αὐτοκράτορα τοιαῦτα ἐπιστέλλοντα τυχὴ τινι, ὅτι βούλεται πάντα τρόπον αὔξεσθαι τὴν πόλιν ὑμῶν· ἐπιτρέψατε δὲ ἀναγνῶναι τὴν ἐπιστολὴν, ἐπειδὴ τὴν τοῦ Ἀριστο-
14 τέλους μακρὸν ἦν καὶ περίεργον— ὥμην καὶ παρ' ὑμῶν ταῦτα ἔσεσθαι, καὶ μηδὲν ἀνεπιμελεῖσθαι τῆς πόλεως κατασκευαζόμενα· καὶ τοῦτο γε ἀπεδῆ τοιοῦτον· καὶ γὰρ ἔδοξεν ὑμῖν ταῦτα καὶ πολλὰ· καὶ πολλάκις συνεισφέρετε αὐτοὶ καὶ προθυμεῖσθε.

Ι. οὐκ βούλεσθε· ἐγὼ γὰρ ὄμνυμι τοὺς θεοὺς ὑμῖν ἅπαντας, ἢ μὴν αὐτὸ τοῦ λυπεῖν ὑμᾶς ἤ τινας ὑμῶν ἢ δόξειν βαρὺς οὐκ ἂν ἑλοίμην ἴδιά μοι γενέσθαι τὰ Δεμώνου βασίλεια· ἢ τὰ Κροίσου ἢ τὴν οἰκίαν τὴν πατρῴαν τὴν ἐμὴν χρίσιν τῷ ὄντι, ἀλλὰ μὴ ὥσπερ ὀνόματι μόνον τὴν τοῦ Νέρωνος
15 καλοῦσιν· οὐδὲ γὰρ ὄφελος οὐδὲν οἰκίας χρυσῆς, οὐ μᾶλλον ἢ χυτρᾶς χρυσῆς ἢ τῆς πλατείου τῆς ἐν Πέρσαις· πόλεως δὲ ὄφελος· εὐπρεποῦς γιγνομένης πάρα πλείστα· λαμπρότητος ἐν χώρᾳ,[5] τοῦ μὲν θέρους σκίας, τοῦ δὲ χειμῶνος ἥλιον ὑπὸ

[1] διαφέρονται] Ms. διαφέρουσι
[2] [illegible]
[3] θεοὺς [illegible]
[4] After ὄφελος [illegible]
[5] πλείστα] [illegible]
[6] εὐρυχωρίᾳ] δ' εὐρυχωρίᾳ [illegible]

[1] The letter was referred to may be [illegible] mentioned [illegible] that the [illegible] of philosophy has [illegible] Trajan with a [illegible] The [illegible] of [illegible] from Pliny [illegible] of letters will Trajan (see Introduction). In the [illegible]

that those who enjoyed the rights of citizenship in each of these cities, no matter if they differed concerning other matters, agreed on such matters as these; and that the Emperor, as luck would have it, was sending written instructions to the effect, stating that he wished a star city to be [illegible] in every way. But just before [illegible] it would take too long to read the letter of Aristotle and it would not be worth the trouble. I thought as I was saying [illegible] would be [illegible] because the city was being established. And [illegible] that he concerned it himself, but as I had expected, for you approved these plans, and you yourselves [illegible] frequent congratulations and showed yourselves enthusiastic.

What then, do you wish? For I swear to you by [illegible] of it meant putting you to any [illegible] being thought a nuisance. I should not choose to have for my very own the palace of Darius or of Croesus or to have my own ancestral [illegible] golden in every truth instead of [illegible] of Nero.[2] I see here no advantage in a golden [illegible] golden pot or in the Persian plane tree.[3] On the other hand there is advantage when a city becomes good looking, when it gets more air, open spaces, shade in summer and in general [illegible] the letter from the Emperor must have been [illegible] would hardly have [illegible] after having read it.

[2] Nero's golden house was a magnificent complex, which he [illegible] after the great fire of [illegible] and [illegible] [illegible] a [illegible] of the gilded [illegible]

[3] [illegible] golden [illegible] and Herodotus [illegible]

στέγη, ἀντὶ φαύλων καὶ ταπεινῶν ἐρειπίων οἰκήματα ὑψηλὰ καὶ μεγάλης πόλεως ἄξια ἵνα ὥσπερ ἐπὶ τῶν εὐγενῶν πώλων καὶ τῶν σκυλάκων τὸ ἐσόμενον μέγεθος εἰκάζουσιν οἱ ὁρῶντες, ἐὰν ᾖ τὰ κῶλα ὑψηλὰ καὶ μεγάλα· ἐὰν δὲ ταπεινὰ καὶ ἀναυξῆ, φασὶν ἀεί ποτε μενεῖν τοιαῦτα, οὕτως ἔχῃ καὶ περὶ τὴν ἡμετέραν πόλιν

16 Ἀλλὰ τί μοι περὶ τούτων νῦν λέγειν, καλῶς μέ τις ἀηδόνα ἔφη τῶν σοφιστῶν, λοιδορῆται βουλόμενος διὰ τοῦτο, ἐμοὶ δοκεῖν, ὅτι καὶ τὴν ἀηδόνα γλώσσαργόν φασιν οἱ ποιηταί· ἴσως δ' ἂν ὅμοιος εἴην τοῖς τεττιξί· καὶ γὰρ ἐκεῖνοι πρὸς τὸν ἥλιον διψῶντες ᾄδουσιν ὑπὸ ἀνοίας οὐδὲν ὠφελούμενοι· πλὴν τοσοῦτό γε μοιον οὐκ ἄξιον ἴσως παραλιπεῖν περὶ τῶν μνημάτων[2] καὶ τῶν ἱερῶν, ὅτι τοὺς Ἀντιοχέας οὐκ εἰκός ἐστιν οὐδένος ἅψασθαι τοιούτου· πολὺ γὰρ πλείω[3] τόπον ἐποιοῦν τοῦ παρ' ἡμῖν, ὧν ἡ πόλις ἓξ καὶ τριάκοντα σταδίων ἐστὶ τὸ μῆκος καὶ στοὰς ἑκατέρωθεν πεποιήκασιν οὐδὲ τοὺς Ταρσεῖς οὐδὲ μὴν[4] Νικομηδεῖς, οἳ ἐψηφίσαντο
17 τὰ μνήματα μεταίρειν· ὁ δὲ Μακρῖνος, ὃν εὐεργέτην ἀνεγράψατε τῆς πόλεως, τὸ Προυσιεῖον τοῦ βασιλέως μνημεῖον μετήνεγκεν ἐκ τῆς ἀγορᾶς καὶ τὸν ἀνδριάντα· οὐδεὶς γὰρ ἐστι παρ' ἐκείνοις

[1] Cf. Kock, C.I.F. III. Adespota 409.
[2] μνημάτων Seidler : ὑπομνημάτων
[3] πλείω Reiske : ἐλάττω.
[4] μὴν Sonny : νῦν

[1] Aristotle, *Hist. Anim.* 500 b—501 a, notes that the young of the lower animals develop in proportion to their legs.

winter sunshine beneath the shelter of a roof, and where [illegible] of [illegible] and [illegible] of [illegible] rather [illegible] of a great [illegible] the purpose being [illegible] with [illegible] and [illegible] there [illegible] whereas [illegible]

But why am I [illegible] speaking of these things now? [illegible] hands upon [illegible] the reason is that they were [illegible] much more [illegible] than we are, for [illegible] and [illegible] have [illegible] that the people of [illegible] the [illegible] of [illegible] who [illegible] their [illegible]. And [illegible] whom we have recorded as a benefactor of the city removed from the market-place [illegible] of King Prusias[2] and his statue as well. The explanation is that the [illegible]

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[1] The extensive remains of Antioch on the Orontes, [illegible] only [illegible] have [illegible] active building (*loc. cit.*).

[2] [illegible]

φιλόπολις ἀνὴρ οὐδ' ἐπιμελὴς περὶ τοὺς θεούς· ἄλλα παρά γε ἡμῖν ἦσαν πολλοί.

Πλὴν ταῦτα μὲν ὅπως ποτὲ δοκεῖ· τί γὰρ ἐμοὶ τῆς ἐνθάδε στοᾶς, ὥσπερ οὐκ ἔχωτά με ὅποι βούλομαι περιπατεῖν, τὴν Ποικίλην Ἀθήνησι, τὴν Περσικὴν ἐν Λακεδαίμονι τὰς ἐν τῇ Ῥώμῃ τὰς χρυσᾶς, ἐν ταῖς τῶν Ἀντιοχέων, τῶν Ταρσέων μετὰ πλείονος τιμῆς, ἢ μόνον ἐξιόντα με καὶ περιπατοῦντα, τῶν δὲ ἄλλων οὐδεὶς πολιτῶν· ἀλλ' οὔτε γυμνάσιον ἐν πόλει μόνος οὐδεὶς ἔχει γυμναζόμενος οὔτε στοὰν οὔτε βαλανεῖον οὔτε ἄλλο τῶν δημοσίων· ἀλλὰ ἐγὼ τετύφωμαι καὶ ἄκυρος εἰμι.

16 Πλὴν ὅ γε ἠξίωσα συμβουλευσατέ μοι· ὡς ἐγὼ βουλόμενος ὑμῖν ἀρέσκειν πάντα τρόπον ἀπορῶ· νῦν γὰρ ἐὰν ἀπέχωμαι τοῦ πράγματος καὶ σπουδάζω γίγνεσθαι τὸ ἔργον τυραννίν με φασὶ τινες καὶ κατασκάπτειν τὴν πόλιν καὶ τὰ ἄρα πάντα· δῆλον γὰρ ὅτι ἐνέπρησα τὸν νεὼ τοῦ Διός· καίτοι τοὺς ἀνδριάντας ἐκ τοῦ μυκωνίου ἐρρυσάμην, καὶ νῦν ἐν τῷ φανερωτάτῳ κείνται τῆς πόλεως· ἐὰν δὲ τὴν ἡσυχίαν ἄγω, μὴ βουλόμενος μηδένα στένειν μηδὲ προσκρούειν μηδενί, βοᾶτε ὑμεῖς, Γίγνεσθω

[1] ἀνὴρ οὐδὲ Emperius: οὐδὲ ἀνὴρ.
[2] ἄλλα γε Emperius: ἄλλοι.
[3] After ἐνθάδε Arnim adds ὡς οὐκ οὖσα.
[4] ἐνέπρησα Emperius: ἐπέπρησαν.
[5] Διός] καίτοι ἐκεῖνον Emperius.
[6] After δεδιώκασι Ba. ἐκ τοῦ μυκωνίου and a lacuna.
[7] μόνον Capps: μόνος Cassius: μηδένα or μόνον or μόνον.
[8] στένειν] στένειν Emperius.

[1] So named for its murals, the work of most famous artists. It was the meeting place of the Stoics, who took their name to that fact.

[2] According to Pausanias (3. 11. 3), it was built from the

I have named have no one who is public spirited or scrupulous in religious matters, but we had many such!

However, just sit yourselves in these matters. For what concern of mine is the colonnade in this city? As if I could not promenade in any place I please—in the Painted Porch at Athens, in the Persian Porch at Sparta,[1] in the golden colonnades in Rome,[2] in those of Antioch and Tarsus—attended by marks of greater respect, or as if I expected that I alone should sally forth and promenade, but no other citizen?[3] Why, no one has either a municipal gymnasium, or a house where he exercises, or a colonnade, or a bath, or any other public structure. Or else I have become demented and feeble-minded.

However, as I have requested,[4] give me your advice. For though it is my desire to please you in every way possible, I am at a loss. For as things are now, if I take the business in hand and try to get the work done, some persons say I am acting the tyrant,[5] and tearing down the city and its structures. For of course it was I who set fire to the temple of Zeus! Yet I saved the statues from the sanctuary, and now they are placed in the most conspicuous spot in the city. But if, on the contrary, I hold my peace, not wishing to make any one groan or to give offence to any one, you cry out, "Let the work proceed, or else

spoils of the Persian War and was the most striking ornament of the market place.

[2] Platner, *Topography and Monuments of Ancient Rome*, lists seventy three colonnades at Rome.

[3] This is one of a dozen snaps to show his operations were for his own gratification. See Introduction.

[4] Cf. § 14. [5] Cf. § 23.

τὸ ἔργον ἢ καθαιρείσθω τὸ γεγονός ὥσπερ ἐμοὶ
19 τοῦτο προφέροντες καὶ ὀνειδίζοντες τί οὖν βούλεσθέ με ποιεῖν, ὃ γὰρ ἂν εἴπητε, τοῦτο ποιήσω καὶ περὶ τῶν ἄλλων ἁπάντων οὐδὲν ἀντερῶ[1] οὐδὲ ἂν ἤ τις ἔργον πεποιηκὼς ὑπὲρ οὗ λόγον μὴ δέδωκεν, οὐδ' ἂν ἔτι[2] ποιῶν καὶ χρήματα λαμβάνων δεῖ παρὰ τῶν κατ' ἔτος ἀρχόντων, ὥσπερ εἰς τὸν ἄπληστον πίθον τάδε ληψόμενος, οὐδὲ ἂν ἄλλο τι γίγνηται τι γὰρ ἐμοὶ τούτων, διὰ μὲν γὰρ τῆς στοᾶς οὐ διελευσόμεθα[3] σπφακ ἴστε ἀλλὰ ποιεῖν[4] καὶ πρασιέναι καὶ παρακελεῦν τὸν ἀνθύπατον, ὅπως πράως καὶ πρὸς δυναμιν εἰσπράττῃ τοὺς ὑπεσχημένους, καὶ τοῦτο ἕτοιμος ποιεῖν οὐ μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ αὐτὸς συμβαλλέσθαι μέρος τῆς ὑποσχέσεως,
20 ὥστε[5] κουφίζεσθαι τοὺς ἄλλους μόνον ἔν τι προστάξατε εἰ δὲ μή, τὴν ἡσυχίαν ἔχω βαίνοντων ὑμῶν, μᾶλλον δὲ ἄπειμι οὐ γὰρ ὥσπερ ἡ ἀλωπηξ κατα φαγοῦσα τὰ κρέα[7] οὐκ ἐδύνατο ἐξελθεῖν ἐκ τῆς δρυὸς διὰ τὸ ἐμπλησθῆναι, καμοὶ ἐξελθεῖν διὰ τοῦτο χαλεπὸν παλαι γὰρ γέγονα λεπτότερος ἢ ὅτε εἰσῆλθον.

Καὶ πρὸς θεῶν μή μοι νομίζετε χαρίζεσθαι περὶ

[1] βούλεσθέ με] βούλεσθε μη Emperius.
[2] οὐδὲν ἀντερῶ added by Reiske.
[3] ἴστε Emperius: ὅτι οὐ ὅτι.
[4] After διελευσόμεθα Reiske adds μόνος.
[5] ποιεῖν] ποιεῖν Geel.
[6] ὥστε Emperius: τε or καὶ.
[7] κρέα] κηρία Geel.

[1] Dio himself was later to be taken to task for not having rendered an account of expired loans (Pliny, *Letters* x. 81). Pliny, however, Dio's friend, King rather of work that has reached completion in contrast with work still in progress.

[2] The active interest of the proconsul in the financial

let what has been accomplished to date be turned down." "Well, as you were taunting and reproaching me. What, what do you wish me to do? For I will do whatever you say, and now in everything else I will raise no objection, no matter if someone has done a job for which he has rendered no accounting,[3] no matter if he is still at work and receives funds regularly from the annona officials, yes, as if he were destined to continue receiving those funds for the just that never ends, no matter who else may take place for what have I to do with these matters? For I shall not go wandering through your colonnade, you may be sure. But you will rather go ahead with the work, and to visit the procurator and beg him to collect the subscriptions[4] gently and with regard to ability to pay from those who have promised them? I am ready to do even this, not only so, but even to contribute a portion of what has been subscribed myself so as to lighten the burden of the rest. Only do give me some instruction, otherwise I shall hold my peace and let you shout—or rather I shall go away. For as has the fox who ate the meat and could not get out of the oak because she had stuffed herself,[5] I shall find no difficulty in getting out on that score, for I have grown much thinner than I was when I came in."

And in Heaven's name don't imagine you are showing me kindness when you shout about the

soundness of his provance is shown by the letters of Pliny (e.g. 10, 29).

[3] Aesop 31.

[4] Dio had not only contributed generously (cf. § 31 καὶ μὴ ἀπὸ κοινοῦ τοῦ πόλει ἀνάλωσε, κτλ.) but also had neglected his own affairs because of concern for public interests (Or. 40, 2).

τῆς στοᾶς ἐπιβοῶντες· ἐμοὶ γὰρ εἷς ἀνήρ ἐστιν ὁ χαριζόμενος ἐν τῇ πόλει σχεδόν, ὡς ἐγὼ ἀκούω, καὶ μάλιστα προνοῶν τῶν ἐμοὶ συμφερόντων· καὶ οὔτε φίλος οὔτε συγγενὴς οὕτως οὐδεὶς ἐμοῦ κήδεται· σκοπεῖτε δὲ εἰ δόξει καλῶς ὑμῖν ὑπὲρ ἐμοῦ
21 λογίζεσθαι καί με ἀγαπᾶν, ὃς πρώτον οἴεταί με δεῖν πολλὰ κινδυνεύσαντα καὶ πονήσαντα τὴν ἡσυχίαν ἐνθάδε ἄγειν καὶ τοῖς ἐμαυτοῦ προσέχειν καὶ μήτε ἡγεμόνας θεραπεύειν μήτε ἄλλην ἀσχολίαν μηδεμίαν ἔχειν· ἔπειτα σμικρόν τι μέρος εὑρηκότα τῆς οὐσίας, καὶ πρὸς ταῖς πρότερον βλάβαις ἔτι καὶ τῆς ἀδελφῆς ἀποθανούσης ὠφεληθέντα μὲν μηδέν, ἀπολέσαντα δὲ πάντα ὅσα τῶν ἐμῶν εἶχε, δανειζόμενόν τε ὥστε τὰ χωρία πριάσθαι, τούτο ἀποδοῦναι τὸ χρέος καὶ τὰ πρότερον ὀφειλόμενα, καὶ μὴ στοὰν οἰκοδομεῖν μηδὲ ἀναλίσκειν παρὰ
22 δύναμιν· ἔπειτα συνηθείας οὔσης μοι πρὸς τὸν αὐτοκράτορα, ἴσως δὲ καὶ φιλίας, καὶ πρὸς ἄλλους πολλοὺς τοὺς δυνατωτάτους σχεδόν τι Ῥωμαίων, ἐκείνοις συνεῖναι τιμώμενον καὶ θαυμαζόμενον, ἀλλὰ μὴ παρ' ὑμῖν πρὸς τὸν δεῖνα ἢ τὸν δεῖνα ἐξεταζόμενον[2]· εἰ δὲ ἄρα ἀποδημῶν ἥδομαι, τὰς μεγίστας πόλεις ἐπιέναι μετὰ πολλοῦ ζήλου καὶ φιλοτιμίας παραπεμπόμενον, χάριν εἰδότων μοι

[1] ἄγειν Emperius : ἀγαγεῖν.
[2] ἀλλὰ μὴ ... ἐξεταζόμενον deleted by Emperius because of resemblance to πρὸς δὲ τὸν δεῖνα, κτλ. (§ 23).

[3] The crowd in ot have shouted its approval of his project.
[4] From this point on Dio cannot by presents as friendly advice what must have been hostile criticism on the part of his unnamed "adviser."

colonnade for there is, I may say, only one man in the [illegible] I have who enjoyeth me kindness and taking pleasure [illegible] moreover no one who [illegible] me in that way.[1] But consider whether [illegible] reasons well [illegible] that after all my pains and hard-up I should [illegible] and [illegible] affairs and [illegible] occupation, [illegible] I [illegible] part of my [illegible] when my sister [illegible] from her [illegible] and [illegible] for the purchase of my farm [illegible] I should [illegible] [illegible] and [illegible] [illegible] and [illegible] [illegible] with the [illegible] as well as with many others who may be [illegible] among the Romans he suggests that I should associate with them, enjoying their esteem and [illegible] instead of being taken to task in your [illegible] before those that [illegible] again if I [illegible] the foreign travel I should be saw visit the greatest cities, excited with much enthusiasm and [illegible], the recipients of my visits be-

[1] Dio's troublous dealings with the provincial doubtless [illegible]

[2] His property had been some of his property for him during his exile.

[3] He seems to have been indiscreet in referring too frequently [illegible] at Rome. His provincial [illegible] against him.

παρ' οὓς ἂν ἀφικωμαι καὶ δεομένων λέγειν καὶ
συμβουλεύειν καὶ περὶ τῶν ἡμῖν θείων ὄντων[1] ἐξ
ἐωθινοῦ, μηδὲν ἀναλωσαντα μηδὲ προστιθέντα,
ὥστε θαυμάζειν ἅπαντας καὶ τυχὸν ἂν εἰπεῖν τινας,

ὦ πόνοι, ὡς ὄδε πᾶσι φίλος καὶ τίμιος ἐστιν
ἀνθρώποις, ὅτεων κε' πόλιν καὶ ὄμμα ἵκηται

22 ἀλλὰ μὴ δαπανᾶν μὲν ἐξ ὀλίγων ὑπαρχόντων,
ἀσχολεῖσθαι δὲ ἀσχολίαις ἀνωφελεῖς, τὸ δὲ σῶμα,
θεραπείας δεόμενον καὶ πολλῆς προσοχῆς, κατα-
φθείρειν ἀμελοῦντα, τὴν δὲ ψυχὴν τοσοῦτον χρόνον
ἐᾶν ἄγευστον[2] φιλοσοφίας καὶ τῶν τοιούτων μαθη-
μάτων, πρὸς δὲ τὸν δεῖνα ἐξετάζεσθαι ἢ τὸν δεῖνα
καὶ κακῶς ἀκούειν ἐνίοτε καὶ δακνᾶσθαι.

Πρὸς θεῶν ὁ ταῦτα ὑπὲρ ἐμοῦ φροντίζων καὶ
διαλογόμενος οὐχ οὗτος ἐστιν ἀνθρώπων ἁπάντων
εὐνοϊκότατος ἐμοὶ καὶ μάλιστα ὑπὸ ἐμοῦ φιλεῖσθαι
δίκαιος, ὅταν δὲ ἀκούω λέγειν τινὰ ὡς περὶ
τυραννίδος, παράδοξον ἐμοὶ φαίνεται καὶ γέλοιον
24 ἐγὼ γὰρ ἐπίσταμαι τῶν τυραννίδων ἔργα τοιαῦτα,
μοιχεύειν γυναῖκας ἀλλοτρίας καὶ διαφθείρειν παι-
δας, ἀνθρώπους ἐλευθέρους τύπτειν καὶ αἰκίζεσθαι
παντῶν ὁρώντων, τοὺς δὲ καὶ ὑπερήλικας, οἷον εἰς
ζῶντα λῃστὴν καθιέναι, ἄλλους δὲ κατακτείνειν[3]
ὧν οὐδὲν ἐγὼ ποιῶ· ἑτέραν δὲ γυναῖκα τυραννεῖν
Σεμιράμιν, ὅτι πρεσβυτέρα τὴν ἡλικίαν οὖσα καὶ
μαχλὰς ἠναγκάζετο συγγίγνεσθαι τινὰς ἑαυτῇ τῶν

[1] περὶ τῶν Reiske, ἐν Dindorf
[2] ἄγευστον[4] ἐνίοτε τῶν [illegible] [3] κατακτείνειν κατακτείνοντα, W. [illegible]
[4] καὶ ὁ [illegible] Reiske

[1] This sounds like a misquotation of what Philo may have reported regarding his recent sojourn in Rome.

me grateful for my presence and begging me to address them and advise them and flocking about my doors from early dawn,[1] all without my having incurred any expense or having made any contribution, with the result that all would admire me and perhaps some would exclaim,

> Ye gods! how dear and honoured is this man
> To whomsoever town and folk he comes![1]

but I should not spend money out of slender resources, or indeed at [illegible] of table or [illegible] lecture which calls for restraint and much attention, allow my soul to go sinking without a taste of philosophy and kindred subjects, and be called to account by this or that one and be subjected to abuse at times and made to smart.

By Heaven! is not the man who frets and reasons thus in my behalf most well disposed toward me of all and most deserving of my love? However, when I hear that a certain person is talking about me as if I were a tyrant, it seems to me to be amusing, yes, ridiculous. For according to my understanding tyrants' acts are like the following: seduction of married women and ruining of boys, beating and maltreating freemen in the sight of all, sometimes even subjecting men to torture, as, for example, plunging them into a seething cauldron, and at other times administering a coat of tar; but I do naught of this. For beyond what I know regarding a female tyrant, Semiramis[2] that, being advanced in years and useful, she used to force men to be with

[1] *Odyssey* 10, 38-39.

[2] Assyrian queen, best known as a builder. The scandalous gossip here reported is found nowhere else.

δὲ τυράννων τὸν δεῖνα[1] ἀκήκοα ταυτὰ[2] ποιοῦντα,[3] πρεσβύτην θρασύν

25 Ὧν τί πρὸς ἐμέ ἐστιν; ἢ ὅτι τὴν οἰκίαν οἰκοδομῶ πολυτελῶς, ἀλλ' οὐκ ἐῶ πίπτειν; ἢ ὅτι πορφύραν αὐτὸς ἠμφίεσμαι, ἀλλ' οὐ φαῦλον τριβώνιον, ἀλλ' ὅτι κομῶ καὶ γένεια ἔχω; τοῦτο δ' ἴσως οὐ τυραννικόν ἐστιν, ἀλλὰ βασιλικόν. ἔφη δ' οὖν τις ὅτι καὶ τὸ κακῶς ἀκούειν καλῶς ποιοῦντα[4] καὶ τοῦτο βασιλικόν ἐστιν

[1] τὸν δεῖνα Emperius, ἕνα Wilamowitz: οὐδένα.
[2] ταῦτα Crusius: ταῦτα.
[3] After ποιοῦντα Peiske adds εἰ μὴ Τιβέριον, retaining οὐδένα.
[4] ποιοῦντα Upton: ποιοῦντας.

[1] Wilamowitz conjectures that Tiberius is the anonymous

her. And of male tyrants I have heard it said that so-and-so did the same thing, outrageous old sinner!

But what has all this to do with me? Is it because I build my house in costly style[1] instead of letting it tumble down? Or because I myself wear purple instead of a miserable rag of a cloak? Can it be because I wear long hair and have a beard?[2] But, possibly this is not the mark of a tyrant but rather of a king. However that may be, some one[4] has said that being roundly abused, though doing kindly deeds, is also a mark of royalty.

offender. Thus is said others hint at his indulgence in unnatural vices.

[2] This suggestion and the one which follows were doubtless made in irony. They do not accord with what is known of Dio in his philosophic period.

[3] On his adoption of long hair, cf. Or. 35. 2.

[4] Alexander the Great, according to Plutarch; Antisthenes, according to Marcus Aurelius.

THE FORTY-EIGHTH DISCOURSE: A POLITICAL ADDRESS IN ASSEMBLY

This address, like the one preceding it, is closely related to Dio's project for embellishing Prusa, of which we are to hear no more. The [illegible] the presence [illegible] of Varenus Rufus, newly appointed proconsul of Bithynia. He [illegible] [illegible] to [illegible] Prusa [illegible] of [illegible]. The purpose of [illegible] has [illegible] for the purpose of [illegible] new [illegible] [illegible] against certain [illegible] but [illegible] to [illegible] alteration. These charges [illegible] of the upper class at [illegible] their pledges [illegible] are accused of having [illegible] public money [illegible] and [illegible] treatment of the [illegible] of the persons involved and [illegible] of concord.

If [illegible] of [illegible] of Varenus were known, the dating of this Discourse would [illegible] present no problem. By [illegible] at the summer of [illegible] as the date of the address. Of especial [illegible] and in [illegible] connects with the maladministration of the province by Junius Bassus, the

immediate predecessor of Varenus. Although Dio is at great pains to minimize the manifestations of unrest at Prusa and to attribute them to infection from without, the space devoted to that effort is in itself fair proof that conditions at Prusa must have been bad

48. ΠΟΛΙΤΙΚΟΣ ΕΝ ΕΚΚΛΗΣΙΑΙ

1 Πρῶτον μέν, ὦ ἄνδρες, τῷ κρατίστῳ Οὐαρηνῷ δεῖ χαριν ἡμᾶς εἰδέναι καὶ διὰ τὴν ἥλλην προθυμίαν ἣν ἐπιδέδεικται πρὸς τὴν πόλιν, καὶ ὅτι βουλομένοις ἡμῖν ἐκκλησιάσαι πάλιν ἐφῆκεν οὐ μόνον ἑτοίμως, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἡδέως· τοῦτο γὰρ ἦν πιστεύοντος ὑμῖν καὶ εἰδότος ὅτι πρὸς οὐδὲν ἄτοπον χρήσεσθε τῇ ἐξουσίᾳ· οὔτε γὰρ ξύλα χλωρὰ δήπουθεν οὐδεὶς συντίθησιν ὥστε κάεσθαι, προειδὼς ὅτι ὠάγκη γενέσθαι καπνὸν πολὺν καὶ ἄτοπον, οὔτε τεταραγμένον δῆμον εἰς ταὐτὸ συνάγει νοῦν ἔχων ἡγεμών, ἀλλ' ἂν μή τις μείζων
2 ἀνάγκη κατυλάβῃ· νῦν οὖν ὑμέτερον ἔργον ἐστὶ μὴ ψεύσασθαι αὐτοῦ τὴν διάνοιαν, ἀλλ' ἐπιδεῖξαι σωφρόνως καὶ καλῶς αὐτοὺς ἐκκλησιάζοντας, καὶ πρῶτον, ἐμοὶ δοκεῖ, καλλωπίσασθαι τῇ φιλίᾳ τῇ πρὸς ἀλλήλους καὶ ὁμονοίᾳ, κἂν δεῦρο ἀφίκηται παρακληθεὶς, περὶ μὲν τῶν ἄλλων ὧν ἐβούλετο ὑπερθέσθαι· ζήτησει γὰρ αὐτὸς τὰ δημόσια, κἂν ὑμεῖς κωλύειν θέλητε. τὸ δὲ νῦν εὐχαριστήσατε καὶ δεξιώσασθε καὶ μετ' εὐφημίας καὶ τιμῆς ὑποδέξα-

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[1] The right of assembly had been abrogated, probably because of riots.

[2] I.e., to visit the Assembly. Cf. § 15.

THE FORTY-EIGHTH DISCOURSE
A POLITICAL ADDRESS IN ASSEMBLY

In the first place, my friends, we ought to feel grateful to the most noble Aeschines, not only for the general goodwill he has displayed towards our city, but on this occasion, when we wished to hold an assembly once more, he gave his permission, not only readily but even gladly. For this was the act of one who trusts you and knows you will not use the privilege for any disgraceful purpose. For, just as no one I assume, is fool enough to build a fire knowing in advance that there is bound to be much disagreeable smoke, so no personal of good judgement convening a meeting of a community which is in a state of turmoil unless some major emergency overtakes him. On the present occasion therefore it is your duty not to prove false to his conception of you, but rather to show yourselves temperate and well behaved in assembly, and first and foremost, I believe, to adorn yourselves with mutual friendship and concord, and if he comes in answer to our invitation,[1] to defer the other matters about which you were so vociferous, for he will come into the public platform himself even if you wish to prevent him. But for the present express your appreciation of his goodness, greet him with applause, and welcome him with auspicious

σθε, ἵνα μὴ ὥσπερ ἰατρὸς πρὸς νοσοῦντας ὑπόπτως καὶ ἀπόῳ θεραπείας ἕνεκεν, ἀλλ' ὡς πρὸς
2 ἰγιαινοντας ἡδέως καὶ προθύμως παρῇ· καὶ γὰρ δὴ νῦν μὲν ἄπειμι μετὰ τὴν τήμερον ἴσως ἡμέραν, ἀφικνοῦμαι δὲ ὀλίγον ὕστερον· καὶ τότε, ἂν μὴ πρότερον αὐτοὶ πείσωμεν ὑμᾶς,[1] εἴ τις ἄρα τῶν δημοσίων ἔχει τι, καὶ δικασταῖς καὶ διαιτηταῖς ἀλλήλοις χρησάμενοι, τότε ἐλέσθαι καὶ λέγειν καὶ καταβοᾶν· τό γε μὴν προεξανιστασθαι[2] μὴ σφόδρα ἀγνώμων ἦ· ποῦ γὰρ ἀπεπειράθητε ἢ πότε ἠξιώσατε τι[3] παρ' αὐτῶν, ἢ τίς ὑμῖν οὐχ ὑπήκουσε;

Καὶ τὴν εὐφημίαν ταύτην εἰς ἐμέ, ἐγὼ δέομαι, τρέψατε εἰς ἅπαντας· ὥσπερ γὰρ ἐν ἑστιάσει πάνυ αἰσχρὸν ἐστιν ἕνα τῶν κατακειμένων πίνειν, καὶ διὰ τοῦτο μὴ μόνον τῷ οἰνοχόῳ δυσκολαίνομεν,[4]
4 ἀλλὰ καὶ τῷ πίνοντι, τὸ αὐτὸ τοῦτο ἐν τοῖς πολιτικοῖς ἐπαίνοις ἐστίν· καὶ ταῦτα ποιοῦντες αὐτοὺς κοσμήσετε· ὡς ἔστι κόσμος πόλεως μέγιστος ὁ τῶν πολιτῶν ἔπαινος· ἐπὶ τίνι γὰρ ἄλλῳ μέγα φρονεῖτε, οὐ μανθάνει μὲν ἕτεραι διαφέρουσι πόλεις καὶ τῇ Διὶ πλούτῳ καὶ περιουσίᾳ καὶ τοῖς δημοσίοις οἰκοδομήμασιν, ἓν δὲ ταυτό ἐστιν ᾧ φιλοτιμούμεθα σχεδὸν πρὸς ἅπαντας ἀνθρώπους, τὸ ἔχειν ἄνδρας ἱκανοὺς καὶ πράξαι καὶ εἰπεῖν, καὶ τὸ μέγιστον, ἀγαπῶντας τὴν πατρίδα· ἐὰν δέ τις

[1] ὑμᾶς] ἡμᾶς Reiske.
[2] προεξανιστασθαι προσανιστασθαι Wilamowitz.
[3] τι add. by Emperius, κατοῦν Reiske.
[4] δυσκολαίνομεν Emperius: δυσφαίνομεν.

[1] Dio and his associates. Cf. § 10.
[2] Cf. § 9.
[3] Dio is referring to those charged with preserving state funds.

words and honour to the end that he may visit you, not as a physician visits the sick with apprehension and worry over their treatment, but rather as one visits the well with joy and expectancy. For though now indeed he is [illegible] here to morrow, he will return a little later, and then unless in the meantime we ourselves can visit to our own in case some one or other has some thing to suggest to the common weal. Thy song and another's best judges and arbitrators then [illegible] you will use the opportunity not only to speak but also to show them down. At any rate I suspect it is very conscious to start a [illegible] prematurely. For where have you put the matter to the test or where have you made any demand upon them, or who has refused to listen to you?

Furthermore, I do entreat you, address to all the praise you are offering me.[1] For just as at a banquet it is very disgraceful for any one of the guests to be drinking good for his health, we take umbrage, not merely at the cup-bearer, but also at the man who is drinking, this same principle obtains in regard to the others, resolutions of commendation. Besides if you do this, you will be bringing honour upon yourselves since the greatest honour a city has is the praise its citizens receive. Or what do you base your pride? Do not other cities excel you in point of size, and also God knows in wealth and plenty and their public edifices? However, this is the one particular in which we rival practically all the world namely, our having men competent both to act and to speak, and what is the most important of all, men who love their country. But if any one takes this from you, to

[1] Praise for the achievements referred to in § 1.

ὑμῶν τοῦτο ἀφέληται, ποίας πόλεως καὶ τῆς βραχυτάτης δόξετε ἀμείνους, νῦν γάρ, ἐὰν διενεχθῆτε πρός τινα πολιν, ὃ μηδεὶς ποιήσειε θεῶν, ἔπειτα δ'[1] ἐκεῖνοι τοὺς ἡμετέρους πολίτας λοιδορῶσι λέγοντες ὅτι εἰσὶν ἅρπαγες, ἄπιστοι, πῶς οἴσετε, οὐχ[2] ἕξετε χαλεπῶς, οὐκ εὐθὺς βοήσετε, λοιδορήσεσθε, εἰς χεῖρας τυχὸν ἐλεύσεσθε, ὃ γέγονε πολλάκις πρότερον, εἶθ' ἃ λεγόντων ἑτέρων οὐκ ἀνέχεσθε ἀκούοντες, ταῦτα ἐρεῖτε αὐτοὶ καθ' ἑαυτῶν, ἐάν ποτε γένηται διαφορά, κἀκεῖνοι προφέρωσιν ὑμῖν τὸ πονηροὺς ἔχειν πολίτας,[3] τὸ στασιάζειν, οὐκ αἰσχυνεσθε, ὡς ἔγωγε τοὺς θεοὺς ὑμῖν ὀμνύω πάντας, ἢ μὴν σφόδρα ἠχθέσθην εἰπόντος μοί τινος, Διάλλαξον τὴν πόλιν, καὶ πρὸς αὐτὸν ἠγανάκτησα μὴ γὰρ ἴδοιμι τὴν ἡμέραν ἐκείνην ἐν ᾗ διαλλαγῶν ὑμεῖς δεήσεσθε, ἀλλ' εἰς ἐχθρῶν, φασί, κεφαλὰς τὰ τοιαῦτα τρέποιτο, τοῦτ' ἔστιν εἰς τους καταρατους Γ'ετας, εἰς μηδένα δε τῶν ἄλλων τῶν ὁμοεθνῶν

Τί γὰρ ἂν εἴη τῆς ἡμετέρας ἐπιδημίας ὄφελος, εἰ μὴ πρὸς τα τοιαῦτα πειθομένους ὑμᾶς ἄγοιμεν, λόγων ἀεὶ συναγ[illegible]γῶν[4] ὁμονοιας καὶ φιλίας συνιράμενοι, καθ' ὅσον οἷοί τέ ἐσμεν, ἔχθραν δὲ καὶ ἔριν καὶ φιλονεικίαν ἄλογον καὶ ἀνόητον ἐξαιροῦντες πάντα τρόπον, καλὸν γὰρ δὴ καὶ συμφέρον ὁμοίως ἅπασι πόλιν ὁμογνώμονα ὁρᾶσθαι καὶ φίλην αὐτῇ

[1] δ' added by Capps. [2] οὐχ Arnim: πῶς.
[3] τὸ πονηροὺς ἔχειν πολίτας deleted by Arnim.
[4] λόγων ἀεὶ συναγαγῶν Emperius: λόγον ἀεὶ συναγαγόν.

what city, even the humblest, will you be deemed superior? For [illegible] have a quarrel with any [illegible] which may [illegible] the good [illegible] —and the [illegible] that [illegible] are [illegible] in [illegible] Will you not be [illegible] was about to [illegible] the [illegible] from the [illegible] If [illegible] with [illegible] by [illegible] you [illegible] and I [illegible] I [illegible] the day when you [illegible] as the [illegible] hearts of [illegible] the accursed [illegible], but [illegible]

Now what would be the gain [illegible] here if I should fail [illegible] persuasion, having constantly engaged with you in discussions conducive to concord and amity so far as I am able, and trying in every way to eradicate [illegible] and foolish rivalry and [illegible] contention? For it is a fine thing and [illegible] for one and [illegible] have [illegible] show itself of one mind, on terms of friendship with itself and with

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[1] [illegible] be meant Trajan? If so, we can [illegible] they [illegible] of [illegible] have been [illegible]

καὶ συμπαθῆ,[1] ψόγον τε καὶ ἔπαινον ἐπὶ ταὐτὸ
φέροντας, τοῖς τε ἀγαθοῖς καὶ τοῖς φαύλοις πιστὴν
7 ἑκατέροις μαρτυρίαν· καλὸν γὰρ, ὥσπερ ἐν χορῷ
τεταγμένῳ, συνᾴδειν ἐν καὶ ταὐτὸ μέλος, ἀλλὰ μὴ
πονηροῖ τρόπον ὀργάνου διαφέρεσθαι διπλοῦς φθόγ-
γους τε καὶ ἤχους ἀποφαινοντας[2] ἀπὸ διπλῶν καὶ
ποικίλων ἠθῶν,[3] ἐν ᾧ σχεδὸν ἥ τε καταφρόνησις καὶ
δυστυχία καὶ τὸ μηδὲν ἰσχύειν μήτε παρ' ἑαυτοῖς[4]
μήτε παρὰ τοῖς ἡγεμόσιν· οὔτε γὰρ τῶν ἀσυμ-
φώνων χορῶν οὐδεὶς ἀκουσι ῥᾴδιως ὅ τι λέγουσιν·
οὔτε τῶν διαφερομένων πόλεων· ὥσπερ γὰρ[5] ἐν
μιᾷ νηὶ πλέοντας οὐ δυνατόν, οἶμαι, χωρὶς ἕκαστον
σωτηρίας τυγχάνειν, ἀλλ' ἅμα πάντας, οὕτως οὐδὲ
8 τοὺς συμπολιτευομένους· πρέπει δὲ ὑμῖν παιδεία
διαφέροντας καὶ φύσει καὶ τῷ ὄντι καθαρῶς ὄντας
Ἕλληνας ἐν αὐτῷ τούτῳ τὴν γενναιότητα ἐπι-
δεικνύναι.

Πολλὰ δ' ἄν, οἶμαι, περὶ τούτων ἔλεγον καὶ πρὸς
τὸ μέγεθος τῆς ὑποθέσεως, εἰ μὴ τό τε σῶμα
κομιδῇ φαύλως εἶχον, ὑμᾶς τε, ὅπερ ἔφην, ἐώρων
οὐ[6] διαμένοντας· οὐδὲ γὰρ γεγονεν οὐδὲν οὐδὲ[6]
φύεται παρ' ὑμῖν τοῦτο τὸ νόσημα, ἀλλὰ ἴσως
βραχεῖά τις ὑποψία, ἧς[6] καθάπερ ὀφθαλμίας παρὰ

[1] After συμπαθῆ Emperius deletes κάλλιστον δεομένων εὐδαιμονέστατον δὲ ἀπόντων κτημάτων μία γνώμη παρὰ πάντων φαινομένη, a manifest gloss. Arnim suspects also πάλιν ὁμογνώμονα συμπαθῆ.

[2] ἀποφαινοντας Reiske: ἀποφαινοντος.

[3] ἠθῶν Sauppe: ἤχων. In the mss. there follows τρόπον κάλλους κατεαγότος διπλῆς φωνῆς, w. col. Reiske deletes.

[4] μήτε παρ' ἑαυτοῖς μήτε παρὰ τοῖς ἡγεμόσιν Emperius: μήτε παρ' ἑαυταῖς ἡγεμόσιν M, μήτε παρὰ τοῖς ἡγεμόσιν UB.

[5] After γὰρ Arnim adds τοὺς.

[6] ἑώρων οὐ Capps: οὐχ ἑώρων.

in forming united in conferring both censure and praise, bearing for both classes the good and the bad, a testimony which cannot be [illegible]. Yes, it is a fine thing, just as it is with a well-trained chorus, for men to sing together one and the same tune, and not, like a bad musical instrument, to be discordant, emitting [illegible] of [illegible] sounds as a result of twisted and [illegible] notes; for in such discord I [illegible] to say there is [illegible] not only [illegible] and misfortune but also [illegible] both among themselves and in their dealings with the presences [illegible] one [illegible] what is being said [illegible] when houses are [illegible] or when cities are at variance. Again, just as it is not possible [illegible] for [illegible] in one ship, each to [illegible] separately [illegible] together, so it is also with men who are members of one state. And it becomes you since you excel in [illegible] and in [illegible] and are [illegible] to display your [illegible] in this very [illegible].

I might go on to say a great deal on these topics, I believe, and things not inaccurate with the importance of the subject before us, were it not that I am in quite poor health and due as I was saying. If I did not observe that your condition is not permanent, for no incident has yet happened, nor does this manifestly there among you, but it is possibly a slight attack of distrust, which, like sore eyes, we have

[1] Cf. Or. 32. 2.
[2] I.e., discord.
[3] In § 5.
[4] Cf. Or. 39. 4.
[5] Cf. Or. 38. 7 and 40. 9.
[6] I.e., discord.

[7] [illegible] Arnim.
[8] [illegible] Emperius: [illegible].
[9] [illegible] added by Casaubon.

τῶν ἐγγὺς ἀπελαύσαμεν· εἴωθε δὲ τοῦτο συμβαίνειν καὶ τῇ θαλάττῃ πολλάκις τοῦ βυθοῦ κλυσθέντος[1] ἰσχυρῶς καὶ χειμῶνος ἔξω γενομένου πολλάκις ἀδήλως ἐπεσήμηνε καὶ τοῖς λιμέσιν.

9 Οἴεσθε ἀγορᾶς καὶ θεάτρου καὶ γυμνασίων καὶ στοῶν καὶ χρημάτων εἶναί τι ὄφελος τοῖς στασιάζουσιν, οὐ ταῦτά ἐστι τὰ ποιοῦντα πόλιν καλήν, ἀλλὰ σωφροσύνη, φιλία, τὸ πιστεύειν ἀλλήλοις· ὅταν δὲ τὴν βουλὴν ψηφίσῃτε, τοὺς προεστῶτας, τοὺς ἐξειλεγμένους, οὐχ αὐτοὺς ψηφεῖτε, εἰ γὰρ οἱ βελτίστοι ὑμῶν εἰσι ποιηταί, τί δεῖ περὶ τῶν ἄλλων ὑπολαμβάνειν, ἡμεῖς ἄρα τὰ αὐτῶν[2] ἀπολεσαμεν,'' οὐθεὶς φησιν· ἀλλ' εὖ ἴστε ὅτι ἐν πᾶσαις ταῖς πολεσίν ἐστι χρήματα δημόσια· καὶ ταῦτα ἔχουσιν ἔνοι, τινὲς μὲν δι' ἄγνοιαν, τινὲς δὲ ἄλλως· καὶ δεῖ προνοεῖν καὶ σώζειν, οὐ μέντοι μετὰ ἔχθρας οὐδὲ μετὰ διαφορᾶς.

10 Οὗτοι φιλοτιμοῦνται, πολλάκις ὑμῶν παρ' αὐτῶν[3] εἰσεπηρόχασιν· πείθετε αὐτούς, παρακαλεῖτε ἂν ἀντιτείνωσι, δικαιολογεῖσθε πρὸς μόνους μηθένος παρόντος ἔξωθεν· οὐχ ὑμεῖς ἐστε οἱ πολλάκις ἐπαινοῦντες ἡμᾶς δι' ὅλης τῆς ἡμέρας, τοὺς μὲν ἀριστεῖς λέγοντες, τοὺς δὲ Ὀλυμπίους, τοὺς δὲ σωτῆρας, τοὺς δὲ τροφέας, εἶτα πρὸς Διὸς καὶ θεῶν παρ' αὐτοῖς ψευδομαρτυριῶν ἁλώσεσθε, καὶ[4]

[1] κλυσθέντος Italico: πληρωθέντος.
[2] αὐτῶν F: αὐτοῖς: αὐτῶν.
[3] αὐτῶν Emperius: αὐτοῖς.
[4] After καὶ Arn.: ἀδήλων ἔστω.

[1] See Introduction.
[2] Dio's promise, referring to the groups mentioned in the preceding section, we (the persons likely to be found in office

caught from our neighbours. But this is a thing which often befals the sea too, when the depths have been violently disturbed and there has been a storm at sea, [illegible] are faint signs of the disturbance on the harbours also.

[illegible] may, if there is any advantage in market or the [illegible] [illegible] for men who are at variance? These are not the things which [illegible] [illegible] free [illegible] But when you find fault with the [illegible] with the leaders of the government, with the [illegible] [illegible] not finding fault with [illegible] [illegible] to [illegible] others? [illegible] some one retorts. Nay, [illegible] the contrary, you may not [illegible] but in our city there are [illegible] funds and a few persons have these funds in their possession [illegible] and some otherwise [illegible] to take [illegible] and to recover these funds yet not with hatred or wrangling.

These men* are generous; they have often made contributions to you out of their own resources. Use persuasion on them, [illegible] if they are [illegible] [illegible] present. Is it not you who often praise us [illegible] long calling some of us nobles, some Olympians, some saviours, some foster parents? Then, by all that is holy, are you going to be convicted of false witness in your own household,

* Doubtless he has various particulars in mind. It would be unfortunate to say here domestic difficulties unnecessarily.

πότερον νῦν ταῦτα ὀργιζόμενοι λέγετε ἢ τότε ἐκεῖνα κολακεύοντες, καὶ νῦν ἀπατώμενοι μᾶλλον ἢ τότε ἐξαπατῶντες, οὐ παύσεσθε τῆς παραχῆς καὶ γνώσεσθε ὅτι πάνυ χαριέντας ἔχετε πολίτας καὶ πόλιν δυναμένην εἶναι μακαρίαν. ἐγὼ[1] πολλὰ δύναμαι σὺν τοῖς θεοῖς ἀγαθὰ ποιῆσαι, τούτους ἔχων συναγωνιζομένους, λέγω δὲ τὸ τῆς παροιμίας, εἷς ἀνὴρ οὐδεὶς ἀνήρ[2].

11 Ἀλλ' ἴσως ἀδυσχερές τι ἐστὶν ὅτι οὐκ ἐγένετο τὸ ἔργον· γέγονεν καὶ σφόδρα ἔστιν τιχεῖν μάλιστα τούτων προθυμουμένων καὶ σπουδαζόντων, ἐὰν ἑκόντες διδῶσιν· οὐδὲ γὰρ ἑκόντες ὑμῶν ὑπέσχοντο διά τι δὲ παρὰ τούτων μὲν ἀπαιτεῖτε παρ' ἐμοῦ δὲ οὐκ ἀπαιτεῖτε, ὅτι δοκῶ παρεσχηκέναι ὑμῖν, ἔπειτα οἴεσθ' ἐμέ[3] τοῦτο ἐμποιῶν εἰς τὴν ἐμαυτοῦ πατρίδα τιμωτέραν ἐποίησα, χρημάτων τινὰ ἀφορμὴν παρασχὼν ὥσπερ ἀπὸ τῶν βουλευτικῶν καὶ νὴ Δία ἀπὸ τῶν προσόδων ηὐξημένων διὰ τὴν διοίκησιν, ἀλλὰ ταῦτα μὲν ὅμοιά ἐστιν ὥσπερ ἂν εἰ ηὐξάμην ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν, οἱ θεοὶ δὲ ἐποίησαν.

12 Κἂν πάλιν δυνηθῶ, ποιήσω πάλιν· δυνήσομαι δὲ εὐθυμούμενος[4], φίλους ἔχων τοὺς ἐνθάδε, καὶ οὐδὲν ὑμῖν λογιοῦμαι τῶν τοιούτων· οὐδὲ γὰρ οἱ γονεῖς τοῖς τέκνοις ἀντὶ τῶν ἀναλωμάτων τὰς εὐχὰς λογι-

[1] Before ἐγώ Reiske inserts ἐμοί.
[2] λέγω δὲ Selden: λέγων.
[3] οἴεσθ' ἐμέ Cobet: οἴεσθέ με.
[4] εὐθυμούμενοι μεθ' ὑμῶν Reiske.

[1] A familiar proverb.
[2] The Councillor paid a fee when admitted to office.
[3] This was another result of Dio's exile to Rome, a.D. 100. Cf. Or. 45. 10. It would seem that because of the

and is it anger which now prompts your words, or was it flattery then, and is it that you are the victims of deception now, or were you victims of deception then? Will you not cease your to be once and recognize that you have fellow citizens of refinement and a city that can be prosperous? I can accomplish many things, if Heaven wills, with these men as my helpers, however I cite the proverb, one man is no man.[1]

But possibly you were displeased that the work has not been completed. It is going forward, and it will be completed very speedily, especially with the enthusiasm and earnest interest of these men, provided they give us aid. For you know they were not unwilling when they gave their pledge. But why do you demand payment from these men and not from me? Because I am supposed to have made payment to you already? Then do you regard it as my duty, if I have made my own father and more highly esteemed by providing some working capital, as it were, from the Court fees,[2] and, by Zeus, from increase in income brought about through the revision of our finances? Why, these matters are as if I had prayed in your behalf, while the gods did the work.

Aye, and if I am able to do it again I will do it again. And I shall be able to do so with confidence, provided I have the friendship of the people of Prusa, and I shall not charge you anything for such efforts. For mothers do parents charge to the account of their children the prayers offered in their behalf. Do you

success of that mission his fellow citizens were not praising him for the success of his successful mission, but were honouring him with a vote of thanks. (cf. § 3.

[1] I.e., he will pray again to the Emperor.

ζονται. οἶσθα ὅτι περὶ στοᾶς ἦν ἂν ἐμοὶ λόγος ἢ ἄλλου τινός, εἰ ἑώρων ὑμᾶς διαφερομένους, ἀλλὰ τοῦτό γε ὅμοιον ἦν ὥσπερ ἂν εἴ τις ἄνθρωπον νοσοῦντα καὶ φρενίτιδι ἐχόμενον, δέον, οἶμαι, καταπλάσαι κατακλίναντα, ὁ δὲ ἀλείφοι μύρῳ καὶ προσφέροι στέφανον ταῦτα[1] ἐκ περιουσίας ἐστὶ τοῖς ὑγιαίνουσι, τοῖς μηδὲν ἔχουσι κακόν· οὐκ οἴσθε τοὺς Ἀθηναίους, ὅτ' ἐστασιάζον καὶ τοὺς πολεμίους ἐπηγαγοντο[2] καὶ προεδίδοσαν ἀλλήλους οἱ ταλαίπωροι, καὶ τὰ Προπύλαια ἔχειν καὶ τὸν Παρθενῶνα καὶ τὰς στοὰς καὶ τὸν Πειραιᾶ, ἀλλὰ οἰμώζουσιν αὐτοῖς μεῖζον ἐπήχει τὰ Προπύλαια καὶ τὰ νεώρια καὶ ὁ Πειραιεὺς αὐτός.

13 Καίτοι μεγάλη καὶ πολυάνθρωπος πόλις στασιάζουσα καὶ κακῶς φρονοῦσα δύναται χρόνον τινὰ ἐνεγκεῖν τὴν δυστυχίαν· ἀλλ' ὅμως καὶ ταῦτα ὁρᾶτε ὁποῖά ἐστιν· οὐ κατηγοροῦσιν ἀλλήλων, οὐκ ἐξελαύνουσιν, οὐ τοὺς μὲν εἰς τὴν βουλὴν εἰσάγουσιν καὶ ἑτέρους ἐξάγουσιν, οὐχ ὥσπερ ἐν σεισμῷ πάντα κινεῖται καὶ πάντα μετεωρά ἐστι καὶ οὐθὲν βέβαιον, εἰς[3] τοῦτο ἥκουσιν ὥστε μὴ ἀρκεῖσθαι τοῖς αὐτῶν ἡγεμόσιν, ἀλλ' ὥσπερ ἐν τοῖς ἀνιάτοις νοσήμασι δέονται ξένων ἰατρῶν· καὶ τοῦτο δὴ τὸ τῶν χαλεπῶν ἵππων γιγνόμενόν ἐστιν· ὅταν ὁ χαλινὸς μὴ κατισχύῃ, ψάλιον[4] αὐτοῖς ἔξωθεν ἐμβάλλεται.

[1] After ταῦτα Ra per. s addit ἃ.
[2] ἐπηγάγοντο] ἐπήγαντο Wilamowitz.
[3] Before εἰς Cassius et nonnulli omn.
[4] ψάλιον Valesius : ψόλιον

imagine I should be speaking of a colonnade or anything else, if I saw you wrangling? Why, that would be just as if, when a man is ill and suffering from brain fever, though the proper treatment, no doubt, would be to put him to bed and apply a poultice, one were to rub him with perfume and administer a garland. These things are luxuries for the well, for those who have no affliction. Do not you suppose that at the time when the Athenians were in the grip of civil war and had brought upon themselves the enemy and were betraying [illegible] poor deaths—they had both the Propylaea and the Parthenon and the colonnades and Peiraeus? Aye, but the Propylaea and the dockyards and the Peiraeus itself only echoed the more loudly to their cries.

And yet a great and prosperous city suffering from civil war and [illegible] for a [illegible] its misfortune, and you can see how [illegible] such things are. Do not the Athenians accuse one another, do they not drive men into exile, do they not put [illegible] the Council and drive out the [illegible]? Is not everything subject to upheaval as in an earthquake, everything unsettled, nothing stable? They have reached the point of not being satisfied with their own leaders, but, just as in the case of incurable diseases, require physicians from abroad. There comes what happens with unruly horses: when the bit fails to hold them in check, a curb is put upon them from without.[1]

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[1] This whole passage relates to the unhappy situation of Athens at the close of the Peloponnesian War. The "physician from abroad" was the Spartan Lysander and the "curb" [illegible] of occupation. Dio's choice of such an illustration and his [illegible] Athenian sufferings suggest that conditions at [illegible] were pretty bad.

14 Ἐμοὶ[1] μέλει μὲν καὶ τοῦ καθ' ὑμᾶς, μέλει δὲ καὶ τοῦ κατ' ἐμαυτόν· εἰ γὰρ φιλόσοφος πολιτείας ἀψάμενος οὐκ ἐδυνήθη παρέχειν ὁμονοοῦσαν πόλιν, τοῦτο δεινὸν ἤδη καὶ ἄφυκτον, ὥσπερ εἰ ναύπηγος[2] ἐν νηῒ πλέων[3] μὴ παρέχοι τὴν ναῦν πλέουσαν, καὶ εἰ κυβερνήτης φάσκων εἶναι πρὸς αὐτὸ τὸ κῦμα ἀποκλίνοι, ἢ λαβὼν οἰκίαν οἰκοδόμος, ὁρῶν πιπτούσαν, ὁ δὲ τούτου μὲν ἀμελῶν,[4] κονιῶν δὲ καὶ χρίων οἴοιτό τι ποιεῖν.

Εἰ μοι προέκειτο νῦν ὑπὲρ ὁμονοίας λέγειν, εἶπον ἂν πολλὰ καὶ περὶ τῶν ἀνθρωπίνων καὶ περὶ τῶν οὐρανίων παθημάτων, ὅτι τὰ θεῖα ταῦτα καὶ μεγάλα ὁμονοίας τυγχάνει δεόμενα καὶ φιλίας· εἰ δὲ μή, κωδυνος ἀπολεσθαι καὶ φθαρῆναι τῷ καλῷ τούτῳ
15 δημιουργήματι τῷ κόσμῳ· ἀλλ' ἴσως μακρολογῶ, δεῖν βαδίζειν καὶ παρακαλεῖν τὸν ἡγεμόνα. τοσοῦτον δὴ μόνον ἐρῶ· οὐκ αἰσχρόν ἐστιν, εἰ μέλιτται μὲν ὁμονοοῦσι, καὶ οὐδεὶς οὐδέποτε ἑώρακεν ἐσμὸν στασιάζοντα καὶ μαχόμενον αὐτῷ· συνεργάζονται δὲ καὶ ζῶσιν ἅμα, καὶ παρέχουσαι τὴν τροφὴν αὐταῖς καὶ χρώμεναι, τί οὖν, οὐχὶ κἀκεῖ γίγνονται κηφῆνές τινες λεγόμενοι χαλεποὶ καὶ κατεσθίοντες τὸ μέλι, νὴ Δία, γίγνονται μέν· ὅμως δὲ καὶ τούτους πολλάκις ἐῶσιν οἱ γεωργοί, μὴ βουλόμενοι ταράττειν τὸν ἐσμόν, καὶ βέλτιον νομίζουσι παρακαλίσκειν τοῦ μέλιτος ἢ πάσας θορυβῆ-

[1] ἐμοὶ] καὶ ἐμοὶ R. περὶ τοῦ, ἐμοὶ δὲ Arnim.
[2] ναύπηγος] ναυκλήρος Sin. cy.
[3] ἐν νηῒ πλέων] ... suspected by Herwerden.
[4] ἀμελῶν] ἀμελεῖ Arnim.

THE FORTY-EIGHTH DISCOURSE

My concern is partly indeed for you, but partly also for myself. For if, when a philosopher has taken a government in hand, he proves unable to produce a state of [illegible], that is indeed a shocking state of [illegible], one [illegible] just as if a ship-wright [illegible] a ship [illegible] he [illegible], or as if a man who [illegible] to be a [illegible] he [illegible], or as if a [illegible] a horse and [illegible] giving it a sort of [illegible] and a sort of courage, should imagine that he is achieving something.

If, for instance, in the assembly [illegible] I were to speak in behalf of concord, I should have the good fortune to [illegible] an experience [illegible] to the effect that these distressing and great matters [illegible] were concealed and [illegible] for the beauty [illegible]. However, perhaps I am wasting [illegible] when I should [illegible] and be preparing [illegible]. According[illegible] I [illegible] this much more: is it not disgraceful that bees are of one mind and no one has ever seen a swarm that is factious and fights against itself, but, on the contrary, they both work and live together, providing food for one another and using it in common?

"What! some one may object, "do we not find there too bees that are called drones, annoying creatures which damage the honey?" Yes, by Heaven, we do indeed; but still the farmers often tolerate even them, not wishing to disturb the hive, and deem it better to waste some of the honey rather than to

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[1] A favourite [illegible] with Dio. Cf. Or. 36. [illegible] and the myth of the Magi with which he concludes.

16 σαι τὰς μελίττας· οὐ μέντοι παρ' ἡμῖν τυχὸν οὐδεὶς ἐστι κηφὴν ἀργός,[1] βομβῶν σαθρὸν γευόμενος τοῦ μέλιτος· καὶ μέντοι καὶ μύρμηκας πάνυ ἡδέως ἴδοιν ἔστιν, ὅπως μὲν οἰκοῦσι μετ' ἀλλήλων εὐκόλως, ὅπως δὲ ἐξιασιν, ὅπως δὲ τὰ βίρη μεταλαμβάνουσιν, ὅπως δὲ παραχωροῦσιν ἀλλήλοις τῶν ὁδῶν· οὔκουν αἰσχρὸν ἀνθρώπους ὄντας ἀφρονεστέρους εἶναι θηρίων οὔτω σμικρῶν καὶ ἀφρόνων.

Ταῦτα μὲν οὖν ἄλλως ἐρρήθη τρόπον τινα· στάσιν δὲ οὐδὲ[2] ὀνομάζειν ἄξιον παρ' ἡμῖν μήτε
17 λεγέτω μηδείς· ἀλλὰ μοι δοκεῖ περικαθηραντας τὴν πόλιν μὴ σκίλλῃ μηδὲ ὕδατι,[3] πολὺ δὲ καθαρωτέρῳ χρήματι τῷ λόγῳ—κοινῇ πράττειν τὰ λοιπά, καὶ περὶ τῶν ἀγορανόμων καὶ τῶν ἄλλων φροντίζειν καὶ τὴν βουλὴν παρακαλεῖν πρὸς ταῦτα, ἵνα, ὥσπερ εἴωθε,[4] προνοῇ τῆς πόλεως· ἔσται γὰρ ὑμῖν πάνυ ῥᾴδια· τοῦτο δὲ ἄξιον ὑμῖν σπουδάσαι καὶ διὰ τὸν ἄρχοντα ὃν πεποιήκατε, ἵνα μὴ λαβόντες ἄπειρον ἄνθρωπον ἔπειτα ἐν κλύδωνι καὶ σάλῳ ἐᾶτε.

[1] ἀργός Jacobs: ἄγριος. [2] οὐδὲ] οὔτε Emperius.
[3] ὕδατι δὲ] Bagnet, χρήματι Sauer.
[4] εἴωθε Emperius: εἴωθει.

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[1] Dio often uses bees and ants as illustrations, e.g., Or. 40, 40.

[2] Athens employed such officials as early as 428 B.C. Cf. Aristophanes, *Acharnians* 719–724. Aristotle, *Ath. Pol.* 51, 1, says there were five for Athens proper and five for the Peiraeus, and that it was their duty to inspect all goods for

throw all the bees into confusion. But at Prusa, it may be, there are no lazy drones, buzzing in impotence sipping the honey. Again, it is a great delight to observe the ants, how contentedly they dwell together, how they go forth from the nest, how they aid one another with their loads, and how they yield the trails to one another. Is it not disgraceful, then, as I was saying, that human beings should be more unintelligent than wild creatures which are so tiny and unintelligent?[1]

Now this which I have been saying is in a way just idle talk. And civic strife does not deserve even to be named among us, and let no man mention it. However, I propose that after purifying the city not with squill nor yet with water, but with what is far more pure, namely, reason, we negotiate in public meeting what yet remains, not only concerning ourselves with the clerks of the market[2] and so forth, but also calling the attention of the Council to these matters, so that it may make provision for the city, as is its practice; for these things will be quite easy for you to do. Besides, this deserves your serious attention also on account of the station whom you have created, in order that, having taken a man of inexperience, you may not later abandon him in wave and tempest.[3]

sale in order to insure cleanliness and freedom from adulteration.

[2] Arnim suggests with much plausibility that Dio is here referring to his son, now grown to manhood. That the son followed family tradition by holding public office is apparent from Or. 50. 5-6, 10, and 51. 8.

THE FORTY-NINTH DISCOURSE: A REFUSAL OF THE OFFICE OF ARCHON DELIVERED BEFORE THE COUNCIL

[illegible]

That section [illegible]

[illegible]

assert his good faith and to [illegible] that [illegible] be [illegible] about to leave (§ [illegible]

[illegible] In the [illegible] of the [illegible] he suggests that he might [illegible] upon

for some preferment. Arnim concludes that some such offer of preferment had been made prior to Or 45 and that Dio's earlier uncertainty as to the precise moment of his departure was due to the Emperor's absence from Rome in connexion with his campaign in Dacia. That campaign is now over and Dio is due to begin his journey to Rome.

49 ΠΑΡΑΓΗΣΙΣ ΑΡΧΗΣ ΕΝ ΒΟΥΛΗΙ

1 Τοῖς ἐπιεικέσιν ἀνθρώποις καὶ πεπαιδευμένοις οὔτε ἡδὺς τὸ ἄρχειν οὔτε χαλεπὸν· ἥδιστα μὲν γὰρ οὐδεὶς μᾶλλον ἢ τῷ εὖ ποιεῖν· τὰ δὲ ἄρχοντι πόλεως ἢ ἔθνους ἢ καὶ πλείονων ἀνθρώπων οὐ μόνον ἐξουσία πλεῖστη τοῦ εὐεργετεῖν ἐστιν, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἀνάγκη σχεδόν· εἰ δὲ μή, οὐκ ἀνέχοντα τὸν βλαβερὸν ἄρχοντα οὐχ ὅπως ἄνθρωποι ἢ δὴ δοκεῖ παντῶν δριμύτατον εἶναι,[1] ἀλλ' οὐδὲ τῶν θηρίων 2 τὰ ἀφρονέστατα. οὔτε γὰρ βόες ῥᾴδιως ὑπομένουσι βουκόλων ἀμέλειαν οὔτε αἰπόλια καὶ ποίμναι τοὺς φθείροντας νομέας· τὰ μὲν γὰρ ἀποφεύγει καὶ οὐ πείθεται, τὰ δὲ καὶ ἀμύνεται τοὺς πονηροὺς προστάτας· οἱ δ' ἵπποι τοὺς ἀμαθεῖς ἡνιόχους ἀποβάλλοντες πολὺ κακῶν κολάζουσιν ἢ ἐκεῖνοι[2] τῇ μαστιγι παίοντες· τούτων δὲ ἁπάντων ἄνθρωπος δεινότατον ἐστι καὶ πλειστην ἔχον[3] σύνεσιν· ὥστε κακῷ μὲν ἡγεμόνι πάντων ἐχθρότατον, τῷ δὲ ἀγαθῷ παντῶν εὐνουστατον[4]· ἡδὺ μὲν οὕτως τοῖς ἐπισταμένοις τὸ ἄρχειν· χαλεπὸν δὲ οὐκ ἂν

[1] ὁ δὴ ... εἶναι deleted by Kayser.
[2] ΛΠΝΓ ἐκεῖνοι Herwerden adds τούτων.
[3] ἔχον ... ἔχων.
[4] εὐνουστατον Reiske: εὐνουστερον.

THE FORTY-NINTH DISCOURSE: A REFUSAL OF THE OFFICE OF ARCHON DELIVERED BEFORE THE COUNCIL

To reasonable and cultivated men the holding of office is neither distasteful nor difficult. For they enjoy no less than others doing good, and the ruler of a city, or of a tribe, or of any larger aggregations of mankind, not only has the finest opportunity for doing good but also is practically bound to do so; but if he fails in that respect, the ruler who does harm is not tolerated. I do not say by human beings, reputed to be the most petulant of all creatures, but not even by the stupidest of the beasts. For example, neither do cattle willingly submit to neglect on the part of the herdsmen nor do flocks of goats and sheep submit to keepers who ruin them. For some run away and do not obey, and others even retaliate against their wicked guardians. In fact horses inflict much worse punishment on ignorant drivers by throwing them off than the drivers inflict by striking them with the whip. But of all these creatures man is the most clever and has the most intelligence, accordingly man is most hostile of all toward a bad ruler, though most kindly of all toward one who is good. Thus being a ruler is pleasant for those who know the art—though no pursuit could be difficult

εἴη πρᾶγμα οὐδὲν τῷ μελετήσαντι ἐξ ἀρχῆς καὶ παρεσκευασμένῳ πρὸς αὐτο

3 Ὁ δὲ τῷ ὄντι φιλόσοφος οὐκ ἄλλο τι φανήσεται διαπονουμένος[1] ἢ τὸ πῶς[2] ἄρχειν καλῶς δυνήσεται καὶ αὐτοῦ καὶ οἰκίας καὶ πόλεως τῆς μεγίστης καὶ συλληβδὴν ἁπάντων ἀνθρώπων, ἂν ἐπιτρέψωσι, καὶ αὐτὸς μὲν οὐ προσδεήσεται οὐδενὸς ἄρχοντος ἀλλ' ἢ τοῦ λόγου καὶ τοῦ θεοῦ, τῶν δὲ ἄλλων ἀνθρώπων ἐπιμελεῖσθαι καὶ φροντίζειν ἱκανὸς ἔσται. καὶ τοῦτο οὐδὲ τοὺς βασιλέας αὐτοὺς λεληθεν οὐδὲ τῶν ἐν ταῖς δυναστείαις ὅσοι μὴ τελέως ἄφρονες· τῶν γὰρ πεπαιδευμένων ἐν τοῖς μεγίστοις δέονται συμβούλους σφίσι γιγνεσθαι, καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις προστάττοντες αὐτοὶ παρ' ἐκείνων προσταγματα λαμβανουσιν ἃ δεῖ πραττειν καὶ τίνων ἀπέχεσθαι.

4 Ὥσπερ τὸν Ἀγαμέμνονα Ὅμηρός φησιν ἀεὶ[3] προσδεισθαι τῆς γνωμης τοῦ Νέστορος καὶ ὁσακις αὐτῷ συμβουλευοντι μὴ ἐπεισθη, ὀδυρεσθαι καὶ παραχρῆμα μετανοεῖν· Φίλιππος δε, ὃς δοκεῖ δεινότατος γενέσθαι τῶν βασιλέων, Ἀριστοτέλην ἐπηγάγετο τῷ υἱεῖ Ἀλεξανδρῳ διδάσκαλον καὶ ἄρχοντα, ὡς αὐτος οὐχ ἱκανος ὢν παιδεῦσαι τὴν βασιλικὴν ἐπιστήμην· ἀλλὰ τῶν μὲν ἄλλων Μακεδόνων καὶ Θρᾳκῶν καὶ Ἰλλυριῶν καὶ τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἁπάντων ἤξιου ἄρχειν, τὸν δε υἱον ἑτέρῳ παραδίδου ἀρχθησόμενον,[4] καὶ τοσαύταις μυριάσι προστάττων

[1] διαπονούμενος Reiske, διαπονήσεις Canaulion διαπονούμενος
[2] τὸ πῶς] δοκεῖ Arnim.
[3] del Seiden f 3d.
[4] ἀρχθησόμενον Reiske, ἀχθησόμενον.

for the man who had practised it from the start and had equipped himself for it.

He who is truly a philosopher will be found to be devoting himself to no other task than that of learning how he will be able to rule well, whether it be ruling himself or a household or the greatest state or, in short, all mankind, provided they permit it, and will be himself setting no ruler above reason and God, but will be concerned only for and give heed to the rest of mankind. Moreover, this fact has not escaped the notice even of kings themselves or of any men in power who are not utterly bereft of intelligence. For they entreat men of such sort to become their counsellors in the most important problems, and while giving orders to everybody else, they themselves accept orders from those counsellors as to what to do and what not to do.

Take Agamemnon for example. Homer says that Agamemnon always sought the opinion of Nestor especially, and that every time he did not follow Nestor's advice he learned the fact and promptly repented.[1] Again, Philip, who is reputed to have been the cleverest of kings, engaged Aristotle as teacher and overseer for his son Alexander, believing that he himself was not competent to give instruction in the science of kingship; nay, when he thought himself fit to rule the other Macedonians and Thracians and Dorians and all the Greeks, he handed his son over to another to be ruled, and when he gave orders to so many myriads he did not dare give orders to

[1] This refers not to a statement made by Homer but to the [illegible] which he gives Nestor as Agamemnon's counsellor.

ἐνὶ ἐκείνῳ προστάττειν οὐχ ὑπέμενον· οὐ γὰρ ἴσον ἡγεῖτο κινδυνεύειν εἶναι αὐτῷ· εἰ περὶ τοὺς ἄλλους ἐξημαρτάνοι ἢ εἴ τι περὶ τὸν υἱόν.

6 Καίτοι πρότερον αὐτὸς ἐν Θήβαις ἀμηχάνων Πελοπίδᾳ τε συνῆν, ἀνδρὶ πεπαιδευμένῳ, ὥστε καὶ ἐραστὴν ἔφασαν αὐτοῦ τὸν Πελοπίδαν γενέσθαι, καὶ Ἐπαμεινώνδου τά τε ἔργα ἐώρα καὶ τοὺς λόγους δὲ ἤκουεν,[1] ὃς οὐκ ἀπὸ ταὐτοματίου τοσοῦτον ἴσχυσεν ἐν τοῖς Ἕλλησι καὶ τοσαύτην μεταβολὴν ἐποίησεν, ὥστε καταλῦσαι Λακεδαιμονίους τοσοῦτον χρόνον ἀρχοντας, ἀλλὰ Λυσίδι ὁμιλήσας τῷ Πυθαγόρου μαθητῇ· ὅθεν οἶμαι πολὺ διήνεγκεν ὁ Φίλιππος τῶν πρότερον ἐν Μακεδονίᾳ βασιλευσάντων· ἀλλ' ὅμως τοιαύτης παιδείας ἐπιτυχὼν οὐκ ἀθαρρεῖ τὸν Ἀλέξανδρον αὐτὸς[2] διδάσκειν.

8 Εὕροι δ' ἂν τις σπανίως μὲν φιλοσόφους ἄρξαντας ἐν τοῖς ἀνθρώποις· λέγω δὲ τὰς ὀνομαστὰς ἀρχάς, στρατηγοὺς ἢ σατράπας ἢ βασιλέας καθεσταμένους—πλεῖστα δὲ καὶ μέγιστα ἀπολαύσαντας αὐτῶν ἀγαθὰ τοὺς ἀρχομένους· Σόλωνος μὲν Ἀθηναίους καὶ Ἀριστείδου καὶ Περικλέους τοῦ Ἀναξαγόρου μαθητοῦ, Θηβαίους δὲ Ἐπαμεινώνδου, Ῥωμαίους δὲ Νόμα, ὃν φασί τινες τῆς Πυθαγόρου σοφίας μετασχεῖν· Ἰταλιώτας δὲ συμπάντας τῶν Πυθαγορικῶν, τοσοῦτον χρόνον εὐδαιμονήσαν-

[1] αὐτοῦ P: αὐτῷ
[2] ἄνευ Ξ: μετ' αὐτοῦ
[3] αὐτὸς Π: αὐτὸς οὐ αὐτοῦ

[1] At the battle of Leuctra, 371 B.C.
[2] Lysis, a native of Tarentum, migrated to Thebes when the Pythagorean community was dissolved. For his influence on Epaminondas, see Nepos, *Epam.* 2.

that one man. The reason is that he did not feel his own risk to be as great if he should err where it concerned any one else as it would be if he should commit some error in connexion with his son.

And in [illegible] Pythagoras of was a hostage at Delphi [illegible] was [illegible] Pythagoras, a man of [illegible] of which it was [illegible] that Pythagoras had [illegible] but he also [illegible] the [illegible] and intended to his words; and it was not [illegible] accident that Pythagoras had [illegible] such [illegible] among the [illegible] and wrought great changes [illegible] the Sicilians, despite their [illegible] to have [illegible] with Lycus the [illegible] of Pythagoras. This I fancy, explains why Pythagoras [illegible] those who [illegible] to Sicilians. [illegible] had as the great [illegible] he did not have the courage to [illegible]

However, [illegible] would find that philosophers have [illegible] become [illegible] and [illegible] as [illegible] the other hand [illegible] when they [illegible] from [illegible] most numerous and most [illegible] Lycurgus from Sparta, from Aristotle [illegible] from Pericles the disciple of Anaxagoras, the Theban from Epaminondas, the Roman from Numa, who, as some say, had some acquaintance with the philosophy of Pythagoras*, and the Italian Greeks [illegible] gotten from the Pythagoreans, for those Greeks prospered and conducted

* The [illegible] of Numa makes him too early to have known Pythagoreanism.

τας καὶ μετὰ πλείστης ὁμοιοίας καὶ εἰρήνης πολιτευσαμένους, ὅσον ἐκεῖνοι χρόνον τας πόλεις διεῖπον

7 Καὶ κοινῇ δὲ τὰ ἰσχυρότατα τῶν ἐθνῶν, ἐπειδὴ οὐ δυνατὰ ἀεὶ βασιλεύεσθαι ὑπὸ τῶν φιλοσόφων, ἐπίστατας τοῖς βασιλεῦσι καὶ ἄρχοντας τούτους ἀπέδειξαν· Πέρσαι μὲν, οἶμαι, τοὺς καλουμένους παρ' αὐτοῖς μαγους, ὅτι τῆς φύσεως ἦσαν ἔμπειροι καὶ τοὺς θεοὺς ἤδεσαν ὡς δεῖ θεραπεύειν· Αἰγύπτιοι δὲ τοὺς ἱερεῖς, οἱ τὴν αὐτὴν ἐπιστήμην εἶχον τοῖς μάγοις, τῶν θεῶν ἐπιμελούμενοι καὶ τὰ ξυμπαντα γιγνωσκοντες ὅστε τε καὶ ὅπως ἔχει· Ἰνδοὶ δὲ Βραχμανας, ἐγκρατείᾳ καὶ δικαιοσύνῃ διαφέροντας καὶ τῇ πρὸς τὸ θεῖον φιλίᾳ, ὅθεν μαλλον ἴσασι τὰ μέλλοντα ἢ οἱ ἄλλοι ἀνθρωποι τα παροντα αὐτοῖς

8 Κελτοὶ δὲ οὓς ὀνομαζουσι Δρυΐδας, καὶ τουτους περὶ μαντικην ὄντας καὶ την ἄλλην σοφιαν· ὧν ἄνευ τοῖς βασιλεῦσιν οὐδεν ἐξῆν πραττειν οὐδὲ βουλευεσθαι, ὥστε τὸ μὲν ἀληθες ἐκεινους ἄρχειν, τους δὲ βασιλέας αὐτῶν ὑπηρέτας καὶ διακόνους γιγνεσθαι τῆς γνώμης ἐν θρόνοις χρυσοῖς καθημένους καὶ οἰκιας μεγαλας οἰκοῦντας καὶ πολυτελῶς[3] εὐωχουμένους

Καὶ γαρ δη τοῦτον εἰκός ἐστι πᾶσαν ἀρχὴν ἱκανώτατα διοικῆσαι, ὃς τὴν χαλεπωτάτην ἀρχὴν δεινοτάτῳ[4] ἄρχων δύναται παρεχειν ἀνεμαρτητον

9 αὐτον· ὁ τοιοῦτος φιλόσοφος ἀεὶ αὐτοῦ ἄρχει ὁ τῷ

[1] ἀεὶ] al Reiske [2] ὅσῳ Mindorf πᾶ.
[3] πολυτελῶς Cobet πολυτίμως or πολυτιμῶν
[4] δεινοτάτῳ Selich : διεπτοχως

[1] Cf. Or. 36. 41 [2] Cf. Or. 37. 31
[3] The *locus classicus* on the Druids is Caesar, *Bell. Gall.* 6.

their municipal affairs with the greatest concord and peace just so long as those Pythagoreans managed their cities.

Furthermore, since they cannot always be ruled by kings who are philosophers, but the most powerful citizens have [illegible] philosophers as experts and advisers for the rulings. Thus the Persians, nationwide, appointed those whom they call Magi, because they were acquainted with Nature and understood how the gods should be worshipped; the Egyptians appointed the priests, who had the same knowledge as the Magi, devoting themselves to the service of the gods and knowing heaven and the whereabouts of everything; the Indians appointed Brachmans because they excel in astrology and righteousness and in their devotion to the divinities, as a result of which they know the future better than all other men; know their own [illegible] presence, the Celts appointed those whom they call Druids, these also being devoted to the prophetic art and to wisdom in general. In all these cases the kings were not permitted to do or plan anything without the assistance of these wise men, so that in truth it was they who ruled while the kings, because their servants and the ministers of their wills, though they sat on golden thrones, dwelt in great houses and feasted sumptuously.

And indeed it is reasonable to expect that man to administer any office most capable who, occupying continuously the most difficult office of all, can show himself to be free from error. For example, the philosopher is always master of himself, and this is

13–4. Diodorus (1. 81. 4) and Strabo (4. 4[illegible]) also refer to them.

παντὶ χαλεπώτερον ἢ συμπάντων μὲν Ἑλλήνων συμπάντων δὲ βαρβάρων βασιλεύειν· ποῖον μὲν γὰρ οὕτως ἄγριον ἀνθρώπων γένος ἐστὶν ὡς ὀργαί τε καὶ φθόνοι καὶ φιλονικίαι, ὧν αὐτὸν ἐγκρατῆ εἶναι δεῖ, ποῖον δὲ οὕτω[1] πονηρὸν καὶ ἐπιβουλὸν καὶ προδοτικὸν ὥστε ἡδονή τε καὶ ἐπιθυμίαι, ὧν αὐτὸν οὐδέποτε ἡττᾶσθαι δεῖ, ποῖον δὲ οὕτω βίαιον καὶ καταπληττόμενον[2] καὶ ταπεινοῦν τὰς ψυχὰς ὡς φόβοι τε καὶ λῦπαι, οἷς οὔποτε αὐτὸν
10 πρέπει ὑπείκοντα ὀφθῆναι, ποῖα δὲ ὅπλα, ποῖα δὲ ἐρύματα πρὸς ταῦτα προβέβληται, οἷς οἱ τε βασιλεῖς καὶ στρατηγοὶ πόλεως πρὸς τοὺς πολεμίους, ποίοις δὲ συμμάχοις ἢ δορυφόροις ἐπὶ ταῦτα χρῆσθαι δυνατόν, εἰ μή γε τοῖς σοφοῖς καὶ φρονίμοις λόγοις, τοῖς δὲ ἄλλοις ἐπιτελεῖσθαι φιλακῆς[3] ἢ ἐπιτρέψαι φρουρεῖν, ἢ ποιοῖς χρήσασθαι διακόνοις, ἀλλ' οὐκ αὐτὸν δεῖ· καὶ νύκτωρ καὶ μεθ' ἡμέραν φρουτίζοντα καὶ ἀγρυπνοῦντα τὴν φυλακὴν ταύτην ἔχειν, ὅπως μὴ λάθῃ αὐτὸν· ἤτοι λυσεισθαι ὑπὸ ἡδονῶν ἢ καταπλαγεὶς ὑπὸ φόβων ἢ παραιρούσθαις ὑπὸ ἐπιθυμιῶν ἢ ταπεινωθεὶς ὑπὸ λύπης, οὔτε ἀποστῆναι τῶν βελτίστων καὶ δικαιο-
11 τάτων ἔργων προδότης αὐτοῦ γενόμενος, τὸν δὲ τὴν ἀρχὴν ταύτην ἰσχυρὸς καὶ ἐγκρατὴς ἄρχοντι οὐ χαλεπὸν ἤδη καὶ συμπάντων ἀνθρώπων κρείττω γίγνεσθαι.

Ὁπόταν δὲ ταῦτα διεξίω περὶ τῶν φιλοσόφων, μηδείς με ἡγείσθω πρὸς τὸ σχῆμα ἀφορῶντα λέγειν καὶ πρὸς τὴν δίαιταν· οὔτε γὰρ τὸν αἰῶνα ἐκ τοῦ

[1] οὕτω added by Reiske.
[2] καταπλησσόμενον καταπλήττοντα Selden.
[3] φιλακὰς Casaubon : φυλακὴν.

altogether more difficult than to be king over all the Greeks or all the barbarians? For what race of men is as savage as are anger and envy and contentious rivalry? What race is as knavish and ungrateful and treacherous as are pleasures and lusts, by which he must never be overcome? What race is as cowardly and terrifying and debasing to men's souls as are fear and pain, to which he must never be seen to yield? Again, what armour, what outworks does he possess for protection against these forces, such as both kings and generals have against a foe? What walls or bulwarks can be erected against the inroads of the wrath of wisdom and prudence? Whom shall he bid to serve as his sentinels to stand guard, or what servants can be entrusted? For he must, on the contrary, be ever on the watch himself both night and day, with anxious thought and vigilance, lest he be aware of it, he may be [illegible] or terrified by fear or tricked by craft when he is by pleasure, or be led to abandon those acts which are best and most right [illegible] or to himself? However, the man who administers this office with firmness and self-control does not find it difficult from this, or to show himself superior even to the whole world.

But when I enter into these details regarding philosophers, let no one think I am speaking with a view to the outward appearance and the name. For as sensible men do not judge wine from the jar in

[1] Cf. Or. 34, 9-3 and 35, 11.

[illegible]

κεράμου κρίνουσιν οἱ τῶν ἔχοντες πολλάκις γὰρ εὑρήσεις ἐν σπουδαίῳ κειμένῳ τὸν ἐκ τῶν καπηλείων οἶνον ἐξεστηκότα, οὐτε τὸν ἄιδρα τὸν πεπαι-
13 δευμένον ἐκ τοῦ σχήματος· τοὺς μέντοι πολλοὺς οὐ θαυμάζω ἐξαπατᾶσθαι ὑπὸ τοῦ τοιούτου. τὸν γὰρ Ὀλυσσέα καὶ τὸν Ἴρον οἱ μνηστῆρες συνέβαλον διὰ τὸ σχῆμα ὡς οὐδὲν διαφέροντας· ἔφη δέ τις τῶν ὀλίγῳ πρότερον φιλοσόφων οὐ φαυλος, τὸν Ἴσμηνιαν τοῦτον μάλιστα ἀγανακτεῖν, τὸ καλεῖσθαι αὐλητὴν τοῦ τυμβαύλου, οὐ παντελῶς ὅμοιον ὄν,[1] ἔμοι δοκεῖ· οὐ γὰρ βλάπτουσιν οὐδὲν οἱ τυμβαῦλαι τοὺς νεκροὺς οὐδ' ἐνοχλοῦσιν, τῶν δὲ προσποιουμένων φιλοσοφεῖν ἔνοι καὶ πολλὰ χαλεπὰ
14 ἐργάζονται· ἀλλὰ τοῦ[2] γε δοκοῦς φιλοσόφου τὸ ἔργον οὐχ ἕτερον ἐστιν ἢ ἀρχὴ ἀνθρώπων· ὅστις δὲ ὀκνεῖ τὴν αὐτοῦ[3] πολὺν ἐκοῦσαν καὶ ἐπικαλουμένην διοικεῖν, οὐ φασκων ἱκανὸς[4] εἶναι, ὅμοιός ἐστιν ὥσπερ εἴ τις τὸ μὲν ἑαυτοῦ σῶμα θεραπεύειν μὴ θέλοι, ἀξιῶν ἰατρὸς εἶναι, ἄλλους δὲ ἀνθρώπους ἰατρεύοι προθύμως ἀργύριον ἢ τιμὰς λαμβάνων, ὥσπερ ἐλάττω μισθὸν ὄντα ἑτέρου μισθοῦ τὴν ὑγίειαν, ἢ εἴ τις ἀξιῶν ἱκανὸς εἶναι παιδοτρίβης ἢ γραμμάτων διδάσκαλος ἀλλοτρίους μὲν παῖδας θέλοι διδάσκειν, τοὺς δὲ αὐτοῦ πέμποι πρὸς ἄλλον τινὰ τῶν φαυλοτέρων, ἢ εἴ τις ἀμελήσας τῶν ἑαυτοῦ γονέων ἀλλοτρίους ἐθέλοι προτιμᾶν, οὓς[5] ἂν

[1] τὸν Cobet : τὸ.
[2] Ἴσμηνιον Vaticanus, Ἴσμηνον Vrbinas. Ἴσμηνον
[3] ὅμοιον δὲ Ἴρῳ Cobet : οὐδὲν δ' ὄν Cobet : οὐδὲν δ' ὄνον
[4] τοῦ Casaubon : τοῦτο. [5] αὐτοῦ Emperius : αὐτοῦ.

which it is stored; for often you will find in an excellent jar the spoiled wine of the tavern. So also they do not judge the man of cultivation by his dress. Yet I am not surprised that most men are deceived by such a thing as that. For example, the suitors pitted Odysseus against Irus because of their dress, supposing the two to be no different. But one of the philosophers who lived a long time ago has well said that it made [illegible] especially angry that no one at funerals should be [illegible]. [illegible] the same thing, it seems to me. For the pipers and [illegible] do no harm to the dead nor [illegible] them, whereas some of those who profess to [illegible] are a grievous danger.[2] However, the [illegible] of the [illegible] nothing [illegible] human beings than of a man [illegible] that he is not competent, [illegible] his own [illegible] when [illegible] him [illegible] upon him. [illegible] as if some one should [illegible] although [illegible] to be a [illegible] and yet should [illegible] for money or because [illegible], just as if his health were a [illegible] consideration than another's; and again it is as if some one who refused to be a trainer of athletes or a teacher of [illegible] should be willing to teach [illegible] of [illegible] but [illegible] his own [illegible] or else of [illegible] standing; or as if some one who neglected his own parents should be ready to prefer the parents of others, provided he

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[1] I.e., both in rags. Cf. Odyssey 18. 40–41.

[2] [illegible]

[3] Cf. Or. 32. 9.

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[1] [illegible] Selden : [illegible].

[2] [illegible]

αἴσθηται πλουσιωτέρους ἐκείνων[1] ἢ μᾶλλον ἐνδό-
14 ξους· οὔτε γὰρ δικαιότερον οὔτε μὰ Δία[2] ἥδιον
τῶν ἀναγκαίων ὑπεριδόντα τοῖς μηδὲν προσηκουσιν ὠφέλιμον γιγνέσθαι.

Οὐκοῦν τό γε ἀκολουθοῦν ἐστι τοῖς λόγοις τούτοις ἄρχειν αὐτὸν βουλομένων[3] ὑμῶν· ἀλλ' εὖ ἴστε ὅτι εἰ μή τι ἦν ἀδύνατον, οὐκ ἂν περιέμενον ὥστε ὑμᾶς αἰτεῖν, ἀλλ' αὐτὸς ἂν ἠξίουν καὶ παρεκάλουν· ἐν γάρ τι καὶ τοῦτό ἐστι τῶν καλῶν καὶ σωφρόνων, αὐτὸν[4] παραγγέλλοντα καὶ χάριν εἰδότα τῆς χειροτονίας ἄρχειν τῶν πολιτῶν, ἀλλὰ μὴ καθαιροῦντα
15 μηδὲ ἄτιμον τὸ πρᾶγμα ποιήσαντα· τί οὖν ἐστι τὸ ἀδύνατον ἐν τῷ παρόντι, ἐγὼ μὲν καὶ τἄλλα εἰκῶ πιστεύεσθαι ἀφ'[5] ὧν λέγω—οὐδέποτε γὰρ ὑμᾶς ἐξηπάτησα, ὡς ἐγὼ νομίζω, ὑπὲρ οὐδενὸς οὐδὲ πρότερον ἄλλως διακοούμενος εἶπον—ἀλλ' ἀεὶ πλείους ἀσχολίαι· καταλιπεῖν μέχρι τοῦδε οὐχ ἑκόντα με κατέσχηκεν· τὸ δὲ νῦν οὐκέτι ἐγχωρεῖ σχεδόν· οὔτε γὰρ ἐμοὶ οὔτε ἴσως ὑμῖν ἄμεινόν ἐστιν ἐμὲ διατρίβειν ἐνθάδε· ὥστε παραιτοῦμαι τὴν ψῆφον· ἐπίσταμαι γὰρ ὅτι οὐκ ἂν ἐδεήθην[6] ἐξετάσεως, ἀλλὰ ὥσπερ πρότερον ἐν τῷ φανερῷ

[1] ἐκείνων Reiske: ἐκείνους.
[2] μὰ Δία Emperius: μᾶλλον.
[3] βουλομένων Wilamowitz: βουλόμενον.
[4] αὐτὸν Reiske: τόν. [5] ἀφ' Casaubon: ἀφ'.
[6] Wilamowitz noted a lacuna at this point. The missing words need not have been many, but they must have included a subject for κατέσχηκεν.
[6] ἐδεήθην] ἐδεήθη Arnim.

[1] Though Dio has been speaking of the philosopher in

found them to be more wealthy or more distinguished than his own. For it is neither more righteous nor, by Heaven, more generous to disdain those who are reckoned [illegible] of [illegible] and then to be of service to those who are not [illegible].

Very well, the conclusion to be drawn from these remarks is that the philosopher should hold office, [illegible] you wish it. If [illegible] may thus be sure that, if [illegible] I should not [illegible] he asked [illegible] should [illegible] be asking you [illegible]. For [illegible] a mark of those who are [illegible] and sound-minded that a man should [illegible] for [illegible] contact of [illegible] or even making [illegible] difference? What then is the [illegible] obstacle in the present instance? I think I deserve to be believed in everything else whereof I speak, for in my opinion I have never deceived you in anything, nor have I in the past said one thing and meant another [illegible] I have always had too many [illegible] and against [illegible] I [illegible] from abandoning them. And [illegible] speaking [illegible] and [illegible] that I should stay here. Therefore I beg to decline my election. For I feel sure that I should not later had to appeal to [illegible], but that, just as previously you elected me unanimously by

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the abstract, it now becomes plain that he is referring to himself.

[a] He is referring to his announced intention to leave Prusa. See Introduction.

[b] [illegible] engagements [illegible] to accept office.

[c] [illegible] in translation. [illegible]

πάντες ἐψηφίσασθε, ὁπότε με ὑπενοήσατε βούλεσθαι, τὸ αὐτὸ καὶ νῦν ἂν ἐποιήσατε· ἀλλ' οὐκ ἔχω οὕτως, ἀλλ' ἵνα μὲν ἄρξω, ἐπίσταμαι ὅτι οὐκ ἂν ἔδει με παρακαλεῖν,[2] ἵνα δὲ ἀφεθῶ, ὑπὲρ τούτου παρακαλῶν οὐκ αἰσχύνομαι.

[2] παρακαλεῖν Emperius: παρακαλεῖσθαι.

[1] The phrases ἐδεήθην ἐξετάσεως and ἐν τῷ φανερῷ, here somewhat freely translated, are taken to mean that the

acclamation[1] when you suspected I was willing to take office, you would have done the same now too. However, I am not so minded; but while I know that in order to hold office I should not have been obliged to call upon you, yet in order to be excused from holding office I am not ashamed to be calling upon you.

[1] Council would dispense with both the usual scrutiny of the candidate for election and also the usual secret ballot. On the whole situation hinted at in § 15, see Introduction.

THE FIFTIETH DISCOURSE REGARDING HIS PAST RECORD, SPOKEN BEFORE THE COUNCIL

[illegible]

ing sentence of the present Discourse as emended by Capps. What more natural, then, than that Dio's enemies should have spread the report that the son was merely a cat's paw for the father, and that, while evading the responsibilities of office Dio was exercising all its prerogatives *πάντα ἁπλῶς κομίζοιτο τὰ τῆς ἀρχῆς γέρα κατὰ τὴν ἐμὴν γνώμην*, § 10? Against that rumour Dio offers the favourite Greek argument of probability, pointing to his previous record and claiming that it would be inconsistent, especially for one of his age, to refrain from exercising the prerogatives of a member of the Council, while at the same time trying to usurp the functions of its presiding officer. The fact that shortly thereafter he was put up as a candidate for that office suggests either that his arguments or his flattery or both had silenced the opposition or else that his foes were really a very small minority. There is in these Bithynian addresses abundant testimony to his popularity and influence at Prusa.

50. ΠΕΡΙ ΤΩΝ ΕΡΓΩΝ ΕΝ ΒΟΥΛΗΙ

1 Ἐγὼ καὶ πρότερον μὲν ὑμᾶς ἠγάπων, ὦ ἄνδρες, ὥσπερ εἰκὸς ἦν τὸν ἄνδρα τὸν ἐπιεικῆ καὶ οὐκ[1] ἀνόητον τὸ φρονιμώτατον στέργειν τῆς πατρίδος καὶ βεβαιότατον· τὸ δὲ ὑμῶν ἄλλους προτιμᾶν ὅμοιον ὥσπερ εἴ τις φιλόπολις εἶναι λέγων τοῖς οἰκίαις μὲν ἥδοιτο καὶ τοῖς ἐργαστηρίοις τοῖς ἐν τῇ πόλει, τὴν δὲ ἀγορὰν καὶ τὸ πρυτανεῖον καὶ τὸ βουλευτήριον καὶ τὰ ἄλλα ἱερὰ ἀμελέστερον ὁρῴη, ἢ νὴ Δια εἴ τις Λακεδαιμονίων τὸ μὲν πλῆθος ἐφίλει, τοὺς δὲ βασιλεῖς καὶ τοὺς ἐφόρους καὶ τοὺς γέροντας ἠτίμαζε τοὺς σωφροσύνῃ τῶν ἄλλων διαφέροντας καὶ δι' οὓς ἅπασα ἡ πόλις ἐσώζετο·

2 ὅπου καὶ παρὰ τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις, οἱ μάλιστα ἀνθρώπων ἐδημοκρατοῦντο καὶ πλεῖστον ἔνεμον τοῖς πολλοῖς καὶ δημοτικοῖς, οὐδεὶς πώποτε οὕτως ἐγένετο θρασὺς δημαγωγός, οὐδὲ Ὑπέρβολος ἐκεῖνος ἢ Κλέων, ὥστε τὸν Ἄρειον πάγον ἢ τὴν βουλὴν τοὺς

[1] οὐκ added by Casaubon.

[1] That all these places should be called ἱερά should not surprise us. The market-place was dotted with altars and memorials and shrines, and town-hall and council-chamber each had its religious rites and associations.

THE FIFTEENTH DISCOURSE: REGARDING HIS PAST RECORD, SPOKEN BEFORE THE COUNCIL

My friends, I admired you even before this, as indeed it was to be expected [illegible] a man of [illegible] and so I feel we should [illegible] [illegible] most sensible and [illegible] [illegible] to rank others ahead of you is as if a man who professed to be patriotic were to delight in the private houses and workshops in his city but to regard with more [illegible] the market place, the town hall, the council chamber, and the other such [illegible] or as if, by Heaven, a Spartan were to be fond of the common people, but were to hold in low esteem the kings and ephors and elders, in so far superior to all others in prudence, men by whose efforts the city as a whole was being preserved.* Again, since the Athenians, who had the most democratic government in the world and gave the most numerous privileges to the masses and the people's party, they never had any demagogue, not even the notorious Hyperbolus* or Cleon, so malicious as to regard the Areopagus or

* The ephors and elders had even more prestige than the kings.

* Hyperbolus shared with the more famous Cleon, whom he succeeded as leader of the democratic party, the special ridicule of the comic poets.

ἐξακοσίους ἀτιμότερον τοῦ δήμου νομίζειν· εἰ δὲ συνεχῶς μνήμαι Λακεδαιμονίων καὶ Ἀθηναίων, συγγνώμην ἀγωνιῶν οἱ πάνυ δριμεῖς, ὅτι τῶν τοιούτων παραδειγμάτων ὑμᾶς ἀξίους κρίνω καὶ πρὸς Ἑλλήνων, ὡς οἶμαι, δυελεγόμενος οὐκ ἄλλων τινῶν μᾶλλον ἡγοῦμαι πράττειν μνημονεύων ἢ τῶν ἄκρως Ἑλλήνων.

3 ἐπὶ δ' οὖν εὐνοίᾳ τῇ πρὸς ἐμὲ καὶ τῇ πίστει ἐκεῖνο ὑμῖν γιγνώσκω τεκμήριον, ὅτι μετ' ἐπαίνου τινὰ πεποίθασι μετὰ συνέσεως ἐξ ὧν ἔχων τινὰς θειρῶν ἀπέρχομαι πρὸς ὑμᾶς, καὶ νομίζω μηδὲν ὀλίγιστον ἂν ἔχειν, δηλον ὅτι τῇ κοινῇ φιλίᾳ πεπιστευκώς καὶ τῇ πρὸς ἅπαντας εὐνοίᾳ· μηδὲ ἰσχυρὸς ἢ φ' ἕνος εἶναι δυκῶν ἢ βουλόμενος· διὰ τί ὅτι θεραπευόμεθα· εἰ δὲ πλείστου τοὺς δημοτικοὺς ὅτι ἦσαν ἐλεεῖν, καὶ καθ' ὅσον οἷόν τε ἦν ἐπικουφίζειν ἐπειρώμην, οὐθὲν ἐστι τοῦτο σημεῖον τοῦ πρὸς ἐκείνους ἔχειν οἰκειότερον· ἐπεὶ καὶ τοῦ σώματος ἀεὶ τὸ κάμνον θεραπεύομεν καὶ πλείστην ποιούμεθα πρόνοιαν πόνων ἢ ὠφελείας, ὅταν οἱ μὲν ἀλγῶσι καὶ πεπονθότες ὦσιν, οἱ δὲ ὑγιαίνωσι· εἰ δὲ εἶπον ἐλεεῖν τοὺς δημοτικούς, μόνοις ὑπολίζῃ λέγειν με ὡς ἄδικα καὶ πιεστικὰ ἔπασχον, ὅπου καὶ τοὺς ὑπὸ ἰατρῶν τεμνομένους ἢ καιομένους, ἐπὶ σωτηρίᾳ πάσχοντας ταῦτα, ἐλεοῦμεν, καὶ διακρουο-

[1] μηδὲ Emperius, μή γε Arnim: μήτε
[2] After δυκῶν Cobet γ' ἐστὶν ὦν

[1] The old Council of Five Hundred was enlarged to six hundred, a number of the members in question, the tribes having been increased to twelve.
[2] Cf. Or. 48. 7.
[3] He speaks more sympathetically regarding the common

the Council of the Six Hundred[1] with less reverence than the common people. But if I am continually referring to the Spartans and Athenians, let the carping critics pardon me, because I am judging them worthy of such comparisons, and because in addressing Greeks, as I take to be the case, I deem it appropriate not to refer to any others than Greeks of the first rank.

However that may be, let this be your evidence of my goodwill toward you, as well as of my trust in you, that I come before you with assurance, either because I rely upon some additional grounds, because I have an image of some favorable omens in regard, I believe, I believe, I do not stand right with you as any man, obviously because I have based my confidence upon my friendship toward you and my goodwill toward all, and not upon my being best to be an influential or formidable person or seeming to be favored for such a reason. On the other hand, if I did pity the commons at the time when they were subjects for pity, and if I tried my best to ease their burdens,[2] this is no sign that I am on more friendly terms with them than with you. We know that in the case of the body it is always the aching part which we treat, and that we devote more attention to the feet than to the eyes, if the feet are in pain and have been injured while the eyes are in sound condition. Again, if I have said that the commons were subjects for pity, let no one assume that I mean they have been treated unfairly and [illegible] for we also pity persons who are subjected by physicians to surgery or cautery, although such treatment is for their recovery, and

[1] Or 43, but it must be remembered that he was on that occasion addressing the popular assembly.

σω ἐπ' αὐτοῖς καὶ μητέρες καὶ πατέρες, εἰδότες ὠφελουμένους.

Ὁ δὲ ἔφην, ὅτι καὶ πρότερον ὑμᾶς ἠγάπων πρὶν ἢ πεῖραν ἱκανὴν εἰληφέναι τῆς διανοίας, νῦν γε ὀμνύω τοὺς θεοὺς ὑμῖν ἅπαντας, ἢ μὴν ἔγωγε τὴν βουλὴν οὐ μόνον ἀξίαν τιμῆς κρίνω καὶ φιλίας, ἀλλὰ καὶ θαυμάζω τὴν ἰσχὺν ὑμῶν καὶ τὴν ἀλήθειαν καὶ τὴν ἐλευθερίαν καὶ τοῦτον ἔσχηκα τὸν τρόπον, ὥστε τῷ δήμῳ μὲν ἐκτετικέναι δοκεῖν κατὰ τὴν ἐμαυτοῦ δύναμιν ὡς πολίτης, ὑμῖν δὲ ὀφείλειν καὶ μηδέποτε ἂν δυνηθῆναι τὴν ὑμετέραν εὔνοιαν ὑπερβαλέσθαι καὶ τοῦτο δὴ τὸ ῥηθὲν ὑπὸ τῶν παλαιῶν τινος ῥητόρων, ὑπερβολήν τινα ἔχειν δοκοῦν κολακείας, ὅτι τὸν δῆμον εἰκότως ἂν ἐν τοῖς ὀφθαλμοῖς περιφερομην,[1] ἐγὼ δικαίως ἂν εἴποιμι πρὸς ὑμᾶς καὶ τὸν υἱὸν τοῦτον, εἰ νοῦν ἔχει καὶ σωφρονεῖ,[2] νομίζω παντὰ τὸν βίον ὑμῖν ἀναθήσειν καὶ θεραπεύσειν ὑμᾶς οὐχ ἧττον ἐμοῦ

8 Τινος γενομένου, φήσει τις, καὶ τίνα τῶν ἀνδρῶν πεῖραν εἰληφὼς οὕτως ὑπερδιατείνῃ, ἴσως ἐπίπνοιά τίς μοι γέγονεν αὐτόματος καὶ φορὰ τῆς ψυχῆς τοιαύτη πρὸς ὑμᾶς ἐκεῖνο δ' οὖν ἐπίστασθε σαφῶς ὅτι οὔτε δῆμον οὔτε βουλὴν οὔτε ἄνδρα,

[1] περιφερομην] περιφέροι μὴν M, περιφέροι νῦν Heusterhuis.
[2] σωφρονεῖ Reiske: σωφρονεῖν.

[1] § 1.
[2] Like many other passages in this speech, the allusion, though doubtless clear to the audience, is not clear to the reader. Possibly Dio is alluding to the Council's indulgence

since their mothers and fathers alone weep over them, although they know that they are being benefited.

However, as I was saying, though I admired your eloquence on this occasion more than I had had any direct experience of your eloquence in the past, now certainly I swear to you by [illegible] gods! For my part not only I judge that Council worthy of respect [illegible] but an even [illegible] at your power and truthfulness [illegible] speaking. Moreover, I have noted that [illegible] such a way that while I have, as I think, rescued the people to full [illegible] the best of my ability as a citizen, yet to you I have [illegible] indebted, and I could never outdo your benevolence toward me. And, in fact, that expression which was used by one of the [illegible] which was considered to contain a certain excess of flattery, namely, I might with good reason carry the [illegible] around with me in my eyes, I could justly use [illegible] to you. And what is more, this [illegible] if he is [illegible] and prudent, I believe, will dedicate his whole life to your service and [illegible] your welfare no less than I do.

What has happened, some one may say, and what experience of the gentlemen have you had that you are so extravagant [illegible] language? Perhaps it is an inspiration which has come to me spontaneously, a spiritual impulse of that sort on your direction, but one thing at any rate I would have you know, men, that I cannot cherish or favour with my eloquence either commons or Council or

in the matter of his son, to whom he presently refers. See Introduction.

[illegible] gentlemen in question were of course the members of the [illegible] was [illegible] speaking. It is [illegible] to an [illegible] and to make capital out of them

σατράπην ἢ δυνάστην ἢ τυραννον στέργειν ἢ θεραπεύειν τοὺς λόγους ἐνῶ δύναμαι, μὴ παρ' ἐμαυτῷ πρότερον αὐτὸς ἐπαινέσας καὶ τὸ τῆς ψυχῆς ἦθος ἐπιδειξάμενος. ὑμᾶς δὲ ὁρῶ, σχεδὸν ὁσοιπερ ὑμῶν γένοιτο τὸ μὲν τῆς δικαιοσύνης μηδὲν πώποτε ἀδίκων μήτε ἀμφίβολον μήτε ἀπιστούμενον μήτ' ἐπιτιμᾶν ἢ θορυβεῖν ἢ πράγματα ἐπιδείκνυσθαι ὧν εἴπομεν· δὸ θαρρεῖν, ἔχετε μὲν πρόσοιτας χρηστοὺς, οὐδὲν δὲ δεῖσθαι ἔοικεν, ἀλλ' οὐδὲ τῶν προτέρων τὸν ἐμὸν πατέρα ἢ πάππον οὐδὲ τοὺς τῶν ἄλλων, πάντας ἀγαθοὺς καὶ τιμῆς ἀξίους.

Καὶ μηδεὶς με νομιστὴ λέγειν ἡμᾶς τοιοῦτον ποιοῦντα τῷ πρὸς ἀνθρ τὴν δουλῆς· ἐγὼ μὲν γὰρ ἔφαμεν δὶ πολλὰς αἰτίας— καὶ πιστεύσατε ὡς νῦν γοῦν· ἀληθῆς λέγω· καὶ ὅπως ἂν ἐμαυτοῦ χάριν ὠφελείας ἢ τριφῆς τινος· ἢ δὲ εἶχον ἀπορεῖν ἀσθαι γνώμην ἀν ἐδυνάμην· καὶ οὐκ ἔστι δεῖς μόνον ἔχω δόξω κολακεύειν ὑμᾶς· οὐ κολακεύσας τὸν ἐχθρὸν τοιοῦτον οὐδὲ ῥῆμα ἀγαθὸν· ὁ δὲ ἀληθέστερον εἰπεῖν, ὅτι πολλοὶς ἀγνωστὸν ἦν ζῆν ὅτιοῦν πρεπτοῦσι καὶ λεγομένοις· ἀλλὰ μοι δοκεῖ μέγα καὶ θεῖον εἶναι τὸ γιγνόμενον παρ' ὑμῖν· οἶδα μὲν γὰρ ὅτιοῦν ποτε ἐστὶ οἱ σφόδρα ἀκριβεῖς ἐπιστήμαι· νομίζω δὲ βέλτιστον τῶν πολλῶν· κοινῇ δέ, ὅταν συνελθόντα

[1] μηδὲ Καιρετίου· μήτε [2] μηδὲ Καιρετίου· μήτε
[3] μηδὲ [illegible]
[4] μηδὲ δὲ [illegible]
[5] (δὲ [illegible]
[6] τὸν γοῦν [illegible]

[illegible] that there had been [illegible] between the [illegible] and that [illegible] and [illegible] to go to any [illegible] to hear the lecture

man, be he satrap or prince or tyrant, without first proving them to myself and appraising the character of their spirit. But [illegible] there has been a test of [illegible] I see you have never displayed any injustice or false dealing or baseness or wickedness or insensibility or yielding to flattery or arrogance. And so I might say with assurance that we [illegible] have found [illegible] least as you have [illegible] but not even my father or my grandfather of days gone by, nor the forefathers of the rest of you, a good man and [illegible] as they were.

And [illegible] imagine that I am trying through oratory to force my way into the presidency of the Council, for I am leaving Prusa for a variety of reasons, and you must [illegible] that this time at least I speak the truth[1] and perhaps not for the sake of personal profit or any [illegible] indeed I have not been able to hide my purpose. Besides, there is no fear that I may ever [illegible] thought [illegible] of flattery, [illegible] I did not flatter the brutal tyrant[2] or utter a [illegible] or [illegible] word at a time when many were glad to save their lives by any deed or word at all. On the contrary, your way of doing things seems to me to be grand [illegible] superhuman. For while I do not know [illegible] precisely what you are [illegible] prison life, though I believe you to be superior to most people, I do know

[1] He has not yet taken his departure when he delivers Or. 40. See the [illegible] that [illegible] for a possible explanation.

[2] [illegible] the bad disposed his purpose to some of his acquaintances previously [illegible] further [illegible] for [illegible] See his retort at Olympia in Or. 40. 15.

[3] Domitian. Cf. Or. 45. 1.

δεῦρο ἢ πάλιν εἰς τὴν ἐκκλησίαν, οὐδὲν πώποτε οὔτε ταπεινὸν οὔτε ἀνελευθέρον οἶδα εἰπόντας ἢ φρονήσαντας ὑμᾶς, οὐ παρακλήσιν ἰσχύσασαν παρ' ὑμῖν, οὐχ ὑποσχέσιν, οὐκ ἀπειλήσιν,[1] εἴ τις ἄρα τοιοῦτός ἐστιν, ὥστ' ἰσχύειν ἀπειλῶν· διὰ τί δὲ μὴ φῶ τὰ δοκοῦντα ἐμαυτῷ, καθάπερ δέον τὸν φιλόσοφον τὰ πονηρὰ μόνον ἐξελεγχειν, τὰ δὲ βελτίω παρακαλυπτεσθαι, ἢ τὴν ἀλήθειαν[2] ἐπὶ μόνοις τοῖς κακοῖς οὖσαν ὠφέλιμον, ἀλλ' οὐ[3] καὶ ἐπὶ τοῖς ἀγαθοῖς οὐδὲν ἧττον, ὅτι εὔφημος,

9 Σὺ δ'[4] οὖν φήσει τις, ἐγκώμιον ἀναστὰς ἠθλήσας εἰπεῖν τῆς βουλῆς, καὶ τί δεινόν, ἐὰν ἀληθὲς ᾖ, τὸ δὲ ἐγκώμιον τοῦτο, ἐὰν φαινήσθε ἀνόμοιοι τοῖς λεγομένοις, οὐχ ὑμετέρος ἐστὶν ἔπαινος, τοῦ δὲ εἰπόντος κατηγορία· ὅμως δὲ οὐκ ἂν ἐποιησάμην οὐδένα λόγον τοιοῦτον εἰ μὴ σφοδρὰ ἤλγησα, ὥσπερ πρότερόν ποτε, ἀκούσας ὅτι καθυφίεμαι τὸ ὑμέτερον· καὶ διὰ τοῦτο ἀπελογησάμην, οὐχ ὑπεροῦν ἀπολογεῖσθαι πόθεν, οὐδὲ κρίνων ἐμαυτοῦ ταπεινότερον· νυστάζοντι μὲν γάρ, ὥς φασι, δικαστῇ, καὶ νὴ Δία τυραννῳ κακόηθεϊ καὶ πονηρῷ ταπεινὸν ἀπολογεῖσθαι· πολίταις δὲ καὶ συγγενέσι καὶ φίλοις, οὓς τις ἡγεῖται μετρίους, οὐ ταπεινόν, ἀλλ' εὔγνωμον καὶ δίκαιον· καὶ τότε οὖν ὀρθῶς ἐποιησα καὶ νῦν πολλῷ μᾶλλον, ὅτι ὑμᾶς σαφεσ-
10 τερον ἐπίσταμαι· πυνθάνομαι γὰρ ὥς τινες ἔδοξαν

[1] οὐκ ἀπείλησιν added by Post, οὐκ ἀπειλὴν Arnim, οὐδ' ἀπειλὰς Reiske.
[2] After ἀλήθειαν Reiske deletes οὖσαν.
[3] ἀλλ' οὐ Emperius: ἀλλ.
[4] Δ' added by Capps.

that as a corporate body, whenever you gather here or, it may be, in the Assembly, you have never said or thought anything base or servile; and that entreaty has no weight with you, nor promises, nor threats—supposing of course there is any one so low as to try to persuade by threats. But why should I not speak my mind, as if the philosopher should be ashamed of himself for praising what is laudable or commending what is better, or as if the truth were harmful, or as if mention should be avoided of any one in connexion with good things because it is flattery?

[illegible] some one will ask, [illegible] to your [illegible]. And what is there base in that, provided the eulogy be true? However, this eulogy of mine, in case you are clearly worthy of what is said of you, is not a eulogy of you but rather an accusation of the speaker. [illegible] the [illegible] I [illegible] delivered any such speech at all if I had not been very much hurt, as I was once before, on hearing that I am [illegible] your [illegible]. And that is the reason why I have [illegible] making a defence [illegible] would [illegible] judging it to be beneath me. For while it is [illegible] trying to make a defence before a dozen jurymen, as the saying goes, and also, by Heaven, before a thousand [illegible] to do so before [illegible] and friends whom one regards as fair [illegible] not [illegible] but reasonable and just. So not only was my conduct correct on that former occasion,[2] but it is much more so now that I know you better. For I learn—and

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[1] The allusion is perhaps purposely vague. Dio may be alluding to [illegible] of the [illegible] of § 3 f.

[2] See preceding note.

—καὶ λόγος ἐρρύη τοιοῦτος—ὡς ἐμὲ ἐμποδὼν γενάμενον τῷ συνάγεσθαι βουλὴν ἐπεὶ καὶ τόδε ἤκουσα ὡς πάντα ἁπλῶς νομίζουσι τὰ τῆς ἀρχῆς γίγνεσθαι κατὰ τὴν ἐμὴν γνώμην. ἐγὼ δὲ ἐκεῖνο μὲν οὐκ ἀφαιροῦμαι τὸν υἱόν, τὸ μηδὲν ἄκοντος ἂν ἐμοῦ ποιῆσαι τῶν ἐφ' ἑαυτῷ μηδὲ ἄλλως ἂν ἢ στοχαζόμενον καὶ τῆς ἐμῆς γνώμης· ἀμυνοῦ δὲ μὴ προστάξαι μηδεπώποτε μηδεν, λέγω δε τῶν κοινῶν, το δεῖ συμβουλεύειν πατέρα[2] ὄντα τά[3] κρείττονα δυκοῦντα προστάγματος ἔχει[4] τάξιν· καὶ διὰ τὴν ὑποψίαν ταύτην ἀπὸ χρόνου τινὸς οὐδὲ ταῖς βουλαῖς παρετύγχανον· τὸ γὰρ ἔχειν[5] αὐτὸν αξιώσαντα τῶν[6] τῆς πόλεως ὡς ἱκανὸν ὄντα βουλεύεσθαι ἤδη καὶ διοικεῖν τὰ κοινά, μεταξὺ δὲ ἔργῳ ποιεῖν ἰδιώτην καὶ τῆς ἐξουσίας τῆς κατὰ τὸν νομον ἄκυρον οὔτε ἄλλως ἐπιεικες οὔτε ἴσον[7] αὖ τοῖς[8] τηλικούτοις.

[2] τὸ δὲ Wilamowitz : μηδὲ
[3] πατέρα Reiske : πότερα.
[4] τά added by Wilamowitz.
[5] ἔχει Wilamowitz : ἔχειν.
[6] ἔχειν] ἄρχειν Selden.
[7] τῶν added by Capps. [7] ἴσον Capps : ἴσως.
[8] αὖ τοῖς with UT, τοῖς Pflugk : αὐτοῖς BM

there has been a flood of talk of that kind—that some have believed the charge that I blocked the assembling of the Council, indeed I have heard also that they believe that absolutely every act of the government takes place to suit my wishes. But as for me, while I do not rob my son of one thing, I mean his unwillingness to do anything within his own control against my wishes or in any other way than guessing at my opinion too, nevertheless I swear I never gave him any orders at all. I mean orders on public matters—though for one who is a father to advise what seems to him preferable does have the status of an order. Moreover, because of this suspicion of which I have spoken, for some time past I have not attended the sessions of the Council. For to have deemed him worthy of municipal activities as being competent by now to be a Councillor and to administer the commonwealth, but meanwhile actually to try to make him a private citizen and to rob him of the authority which is legally his—this, I say, is from any point of view neither reasonable nor yet fair for men of my age.[1]

[1] For an interpretation of these concluding sentences, see the Introduction.

THE FIFTY FIRST DISCOURSE IN REPLY TO DIODORUS

[illegible] es.[1] Diodorus [illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[

opening sentence in § 2, the grudging acknowledgement at the beginning of § 4, and the possible suggestion of hasty judgement contained in the clause *εὐθὺς ἡγεῖσθε καὶ ὑμᾶς ἀμείνους δύνασθαι ποιεῖν* § 8), give the impression that Dio was not enthusiastic over the task before him.

51' ΠΡΟΣ ΔΙΟΔΩΡΟΝ

1 Σφόδρα θαυμάζειν ἔπεισιν ὦ ἄνδρες, εἴ τις οὐκ ἀποδεχόμενός τινα οὐδε ἀγαπῶν ἔπειτα ἀναστὰς ἐπαινεῖ τῷ λόγῳ καὶ ἐνίοτε διῆλθεν ἐγκώμιον μακρον καὶ λιαν ἐπιμελῶς συγκείμενον. ὁ γὰρ τοιοῦτος ἄνθρωπος οὐκ ἔστιν ὅ τι τῶν αἰσχίστων οὐ συνοιδεν αὐτῷ, φθόνον,[1] μικροψυχίαν, τὸ παντων ἔσχατον, δουλείαν. λέγεται γαθν οὐκ ἀπόπως καὶ παρὰ τοῖς παλαιοῖς·

δούλου τόδ' εἶπας.

φέρε δή, πῶς οὐκ[2] ἂν εἴη δοῦλος ὁ πρὸς τοσούτους ἅμα ἀνθρωπους ἕτερα ὧν φρονεῖ ποιῶν,[3] καὶ ταῦτα οὐχ ἁπλῶς, ἀλλὰ μετὰ φροντίδος και παρασκευῆς, και κολακευων πολλακις ἀνθρωπον καὶ θαυμάζων ὃν οὐ φιλεῖ, μέτριον γαρ οὕτως εἰπεῖν

2 Καὶ μην ὅτι πάντες πάντας[4] ἐγκωμιαζουσι παρ' ἡμῖν ἐπίστασθε δηπου ὥστ' ἐγὼ συνήδομαι καὶ κρίνω μακαριους ὑμᾶς, εἰ οὕτως φιλοῦμεν πάντες ἅπαντας· τοῦτο γάρ ἐστιν ἀκόλουθον. ἐβουλομην δ' ἄν, ὥσπερ ἐν ταῖς βουλαῖς και ταῖς ἐκκλησίαις πολλῶν ἐγκωμίων ἀκοῦσαι ἔστιν, οὕτως καὶ ἐν τῇ

[1] φθόνον] φόβον Geel.
[2] οὐκ added by Emperius.
[3] ποιων ἀπων Herwerden.
[4] πάντας Reiske: πάντα.

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[1] Euripides, *Phoenissae* 392.
[2] We infer that Dio is addressing the Assembly.

THE FIFTY-FIRST DISCOURSE: IN REPLY TO DIODORUS

My friends, it strikes me as exceedingly surprising when a man who does not approve of some one or does not like him nevertheless rises to praise him in a speech, and on occasion enters into a long eulogy, one very carefully composed. For such a person has on his conscience all that is most disgraceful—envy, meanness of spirit, and, worst of all, servility. Not inappropriately, at any rate, is that term used for it by the ancients in the verse:

A slave's word this thou hast spoken.[1]

Aye, how could that man be other than a slave, who in the presence of so many people[2] acts at variance with his own thoughts—and that too, not with frankness, but with premeditation and cool calculation—and indulges in frequent flattery and admiration of a person whom he does not like? Indeed that is to put it mildly!

As a matter of fact, you know, no doubt, that with us everybody lauds everybody; and so I rejoice with you and count you fortunate if we all are so fond of everybody—for this is the natural inference.[3] However, I wish that, just as it is possible to hear many eulogies in meetings of the Council and of the Assembly, so also it might be in the market place and

ἀγορᾷ καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις συλλόγοις νῦν δὲ παρὰ τὸν τόπον τοιαῦτα[1] ἢ τοιαῦτά ἐστι τὰ λεγόμενα, καὶ ὥσπερ οἱ γυμνάζοντες αὐτοὺς ἐν ταῖς σχολαῖς, καὶ ἡμεῖς ἐγχειροῦμεν εἰς ἀμφότερα οὐκοῦν, ἂν μὲν εἰς ἐκκλησίαν τις παραγένηται τῶν ξένων, ἡρώων τινῶν ἢ σοφῶν ἡγήσεται τῆς πόλεως ἂν δ' εἰς τὴν ἀγορὰν ἐμβαλῇ, ὅπου οὐδὲ δεῖ λέγειν ἐπί-
3 στασθε γὰρ αὐτοί τί οὖν, φήσει τις, ἀνέστης ἐπιτιμήσων τοῖς ἐπαινοῦσιν, οὐ μὰ τὸν Δία, ἀλλ' ὅπως, ἂν δυνατόν, μὴ μόνον ἐνθάδε ὦμεν φιλάνθρωποι καὶ φιλάγαθοι, ἀλλ' ὁμοίως ἐν[2] παντὶ τόπῳ καὶ καιρῷ.

Τὸν μὲν οὖν τούτου ἔπαινον ὁρῶ πεπληρωμένον ὑφ' ὑμῶν, ὥστε μηδεμίαν ὑπερβολὴν ἔχειν ἄξιον δὲ καὶ ὑμᾶς ἐπαινεῖν δοκεῖτε[3] γάρ μοι πολὺ πάντων τῶν δήμων διαφέρειν κἀγὼ τοῦτο οὐκ ἂν εἶπον, εἰ μὴ καὶ ἐφρόνουν οὕτως οἱ μὲν γὰρ ἄλλοι πρὸς τὸ λυσιτελὲς μόνον βλέπουσιν, καὶ τοὺς διδόντας αὐτοῖς ἢ δυναμένους διδόναι, τούτους ἐπαινοῦσιν ὑμεῖς δὲ καὶ τὴν προθυμίαν καὶ τὸ
4 βούλεσθαι μεγα εἶναι νομίζετε καὶ οὐχὶ τοῦτό φημι, ὡς οὐχὶ καὶ πεποίηκε πολλὰ καὶ μεγάλα πεποίηκε γὰρ ἀλλ' ὅτι ὑμῖν γε ἀπέχρη καὶ τὸ βούλεσθαι αὐτόν. ἔτι δὲ οἱ μὲν ἄλλοι τὰ ἐλάχιστα τῶν γενομένων ἀποδέχονται λέγω δὲ ὅσα ἔχει

[1] τοιαῦτα added by Selden
[2] ἐν added by Reiske. [3] δοκεῖτε Reiske: δοκεῖ.

[1] Some of Dio's own compositions illustrate the point, e.g., Or. 12

the other places where men come together. But as it is, the words which are spoken are those which are in keeping with the [illegible] just like those who are teasing their [illegible]. In schools we too try our hands at [illegible]. Therefore if a stranger attends a meeting of the Assembly [illegible] I imagine [illegible] sure [illegible] of [illegible] [illegible] else [illegible] are there [illegible] whole [illegible] people [illegible] who them [illegible] you know that [illegible]. What then [illegible] you taken the floor to extol those who praised?[2] [illegible] for However [illegible] that if [illegible] we may [illegible] [illegible] and of modesty, not here [illegible] occasion.

Now although I [illegible] of the [illegible][1] has been made [illegible] that [illegible] to be added, yet it is fitting that you [illegible] I [illegible] seems to me to be far [illegible] other [illegible]. And I should not have said this if I did not think so too. [illegible] them have [illegible] for what is [illegible] and those who give them something—or might [illegible] praise, whereas you regard as of great importance both the earnest desire and the willingness to give. And I do not mean by this that our friend has not really rendered much important service, for he has, but rather that [illegible] his [illegible] was sufficient. And again, the [illegible] with approval the least important achievements—I mean such things as

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[1] i.e., the esteemed person who is being honoured by the Assembly.

[2] It would seem that more than one had sung his praises.

δαπάνην τινά· ὑμεῖς δὲ τῶν μεγίστων αἰσθάνεσθε κατὰ τὴν ἀξίαν· ἔστι δὲ τῷ παντὶ μεῖζον τοῦ δαπανᾶν τὸ κηδεσθαί τινα τῆς πόλεως καὶ φανερὸν εἶναι εὐνοοῦντα ὑμῖν· πρὸς δὲ τούτοις οἱ μὲν πλείστοι τοὺς νουθετοῦντας, κἂν διὰ λόγου[1] τοῦτο ποιῶσι, μισοῦσι, τοὺς δὲ μεθ' ἡδονῆς κολακεύοντας θαυμαστῶς ἀποδέχονται· παρ' ὑμῖν δὲ τοὐναντίον ὁ πλείστη παρρησία χρώμενος καὶ τοῖς ἁμαρτάνουσιν ἐπιπλήττων καὶ σωφρονίζων, οὗτος μάλιστα ἀγαπᾶται.

5 Τίς οὖν οὐκ ἂν ἀγαπήσειε τοιαύτην πόλιν καὶ πολιτείαν ἐν ᾗ τῶν[2] φιλοτιμιῶν αἱ τιμαὶ μείζους εἰσίν, ὁ δὲ μετ' εὐνοίας νουθετῶν τοῦ μετὰ κολακείας ὁμιλοῦντος μᾶλλον στέργεται, προθυμότεροι δ' εἰσὶν οἱ πολλοὶ σωφρονίζεσθαι καὶ ἐπανορθοῦσθαι ἢ θεραπεύεσθαι καὶ τρυφᾶν· ἤ τις οὐκ ἂν ὑμᾶς μὲν ἐκπλαγείη, τοῦτον δ' εὐδαιμονίσειεν, ὑφ' ὑμῶν τοιούτων ὄντων κεκρημένον τῆς ὑμετέρας ἀρχῆς ἄξιον.

6 Καίτοι[3] ἔγωγε μέγαν αὐτῷ τὸν ἀγῶνα ὁρῶ πρὸς ὑμᾶς ὄντα· ὅτῳ γὰρ πολὺς ὅλη καὶ δῆμος ἑκὼν ἐπέτρεψε παιδεύειν αὐτὸν καὶ ὃν ἐπιστάτην εἵλετο τῆς κοινῆς ἀρετῆς καὶ ὅτῳ τὴν μεγίστην ἀρχὴν ἔδωκε τῆς σωφροσύνης καὶ τῆς εὐταξίας καὶ τοῦ καλῶς βιοῦν ἕκαστον, πῶς οὐχὶ τούτῳ μέγας[4] ἀγών

[1] διὰ λόγου] μετὰ λόγου Arnim, λόγῳ φόνου Cori
[2] After τῶν Arnim adds μὲν. [3] καίτοι : τοιγαρ. mss.
[4] After μέγας Arnim adds ἐ.

[1] For the Greeks, admonition was not confined to mere words. Cf. Aristophanes, Wasps 1404-1455:

εἰ τὴ δ' ἄλλος τοιοῦτος τοιοῦτοσί' ἡμᾶς,
ἀποβάλοντες τοὺς λόγους ἄνομεν εἰκαθ' αὐτῷ—

involve some expenditure of money—whereas you appreciate the greatest things as they deserve. And in fact it is at a together greater achievement for a man to be really concerned for the city and to show himself worthy of your good will and you than it is for him to spend money. In everyone, while those who admonish even if they seem to be hated by most men, but those who delight with flattery are approved to a surprising degree in your case, on the contrary, he who does he forces frankness and reproves those who go astray are tries to bring them to their senses is most admired.

Who, then, could fail to admire the kind of city and administration in which the honors conferred outweigh the offices made to obtain them, in which he who admonishes with kindly intent is more beloved than he who speaks to flatter, in which the masses are more eager to submit to correction and to be set right than to be courted and to live luxuriously? Or who could fail to be amazed at you and, on the other hand, to congratulate this man on having been chosen by men like you as worthy to hold office here?*

And yet I myself see that the task that lies before him with regard to you is a great one. For when an entire city and people voluntarily entrusts itself to a man for instruction, which makes him its supervisor of its public morals and gives him the supreme authority over temperance and orderliness and the right conduct of the individual, is that man not confronted by

*By Zeus, if you admonish us upon with your knowledge, we ll [illegible]

* The title of the post to which he is being appointed is not given.

ἐστιν, ὥστε μηδὲν[1] ἐλάττονι φαιήναι τῆς ὑμετέρας γνώμης. σκόπει δέ, ἵνα εἰδῇς, ὅτι μηδὲ τῶν παλαιῶν μηδεὶς μηδὲ τῶν θαυμαζομένων διὰ παντὸς τοῦ χρόνου τηλικαύτης τιμῆς παρὰ τῶν πολι-
7 τῶν τῶν[2] αὐτοῦ τετύχηκεν. ὁ γοῦν[3] Περικλῆς ἐκεῖνος, ὃν ἀκούομεν παρὰ τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις ἀκμάζουσης γενέσθαι τῆς πόλεως, στρατηγὸς μὲν ἐτύγχανεν· οὐ μὴν ἄξιος ἔδοξε διὰ παντὸς ἄρχειν τοῦ χρόνου[4]· καὶ ταύτην οὐκ ἀργύριον δικῶν οὐδὲ οἰκοδομημάτων ἐπιμελούμενος, ἀλλ' ἵππους ἂν ἀγαθοὶ ὦσιν οἱ πολῖται, καὶ νουθετεῖν ἠβούλετο τοὺς ἁμαρτάνοντας καὶ τὸ γοῦν καθ' αὑτὸν βελτίους ποιεῖν· οὐ μὴν ἠνείχοντο αὐτοῦ διὰ τὴν αὐτῶν[5]
8 ἀναγωγίαν οἱ τότε· ποσῷ δὴ[6] κρείττους ὑμεῖς οἱ παραδιδόντες αὐτοὺς καὶ παιδεύειν κελεύοντες τῶν εἰ καί τις παρ' αὐτοῦ προθυμος ἦν τοῦτο ποιεῖν ἀγανακτούντων καὶ οὐ μόνον οὐ τιμώντων, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἀποκτεινάντων τὸν ἐπιμελούμενον[7] ὥσπερ ἐκεῖνοι Σωκράτην.

Ποῖον οὖν ἔτι κάλλιον ἐγκώμιον ἢ τοῦδε ἢ ὑμῶν εἴποι τις ἄν, οἵ γε ἐπειδὴ ἤσθεσθε τοὺς ἐφήβους

[1] μηδὲν Reiske: μηδενί.
[2] τῶν added by Hugo.
[3] γοῦν Selden: οὖν or νῦν.
[4] Emperius noted the lacuna at this point.
[5] αὐτῶν Dindorf: αὐτῶν.
[6] ποσῷ δὴ Emperius: δὴ ποσῷ M, ποσῷ δὲ L B.
[7] ἐπιμελούμενον Selden, ἐπιβαλλόμενον F: prob. read ἐπιτελούμενον.

[1] Pericles must have been strategos most of the time from his rise to power (c. 462-46 B.C.) till his death in 429 B.C. Yet he was often subjected to bitter attack, and in the very year before his death he was deposed from office and tried for embezzlement, though later restored.

a mighty task, the task of not being found in any way inferior to your opinion of him.[1] But that you may recognize the truth of what I say, observe that not one of the men of old, not even of those who have always been a hundred fathoms against from his fellow citizens such honour as you now bestow. For instance, the illustrious Pericles, who we are told flourished at Athens when the city was in its prime, though he repeatedly overturned the power of princes, was not deemed worthy of holding office all the time.[2] But Socrates, [illegible] and that too not as an administrator of funds nor as one concerned with [illegible] but rather with the purpose of making [illegible] good men, [illegible] attention to the [illegible] and [illegible] as far as lay in his power to make them better. Yet the very [illegible] that was did to Socrates him, because of their own [illegible] of him.[3] How far superior then are you, who [illegible] to unfortunate, [illegible] to those who were [illegible] even of [illegible] accord was eager to do this for them, and who not merely refrained from honouring but even put to death the man who tried to take them under his care, as the Athenians did in the case of Socrates.

Accordingly, what more beautiful eulogy could any one pronounce rather of the [illegible] For since you have seen that he has improved

[1] By way of filling out the lacuna, Capps suggests some such phrase as [illegible]

[2] The [illegible] was removed to Athens [illegible] of [illegible] the most [illegible] to be [illegible]

[3] [illegible] to the condemnation and execution of Socrates in 399 B.C.

καὶ τοὺς νεανίσκους κρείττονας πεποιηκότα, εὐθὺς ἡγεῖσθε καὶ ὑμᾶς ἀμείνους δύνασθαι ποιεῖν· καὶ νὴ Δία γε οὐχὶ τοῖς μὲν ἐφήβοις ἐστὶ παιδείας καὶ ἀρετῆς χρεία, τοῖς δὲ προβεβηκόσιν οὐ καὶ πάσῃ τῇ πόλει· ὥσπερ εἴ τις ἰατρὸς τοῖς μὲν παισὶν ἡ τοῖς μειρακίοις χρείαν εἶναι θεραπείας νομίζοι, τοῖς δὲ τελείοις μή· καὶ μὴν ἥ γε πρὸς τὰς τιμὰς μεγαλοψυχία πῶς οὐχὶ θαυμαστὴ[1] τῆς πόλεως, τί[2] γὰρ τῶν σεμνῶν οὐχὶ προθύμως[3] παρεσχήκατε; οὐκ εἰκόνας, οὐκ ἀνδριάντας, οὐχὶ πρεσβεύοντας[4] πρὸς τὰς πόλεις, πρὸς τὸν αὐτοκράτορα, οὐ κοινῇ τιμῶντες,[5] οὐ κατ' ἰδίαν ἕκαστος δεξιούμενος; τίς[6] οὖν οὐκ ἂν ἡσθείη[7] τούτων[8] τοιούτων ὄντων;[9] ἢ τίς οὐκ ἂν προθυμοῖτο ὅ τι δύναιτο ποιεῖν ὑμᾶς ἀγαθόν; οὐκοῦν ἔγωγε οἶμαι καὶ τὸν τοῦδε ἔπαινον ὡς ἡδυνάμην εἰρηκέναι. τὸ γὰρ τῶν ἀποδεχομένων τινὰ καὶ τιμώντων ἐγκώμιον δῆλον ὡς κάλλιστος ἔπαινος ἐκείνου ἂν εἴη.

[1] θαυμαστὴ Pflugk: θαυμαστῆς.
[2] τί Casaubon: τίν.
[3] προθύμως Cousin: προθυμίας.
[4] πρεσβευοντας] πρεσβεύοντες Reiske.
[5] τιμῶντες Casaubon: τιμῶντας.
[6] Before τίς Pflugk reads ἢ for καὶ, which Arnim deletes.
[7] οὖν οὐκ ἂν ἡσθείη Cousin, ἂν οὐκ ἀνεθείη Pflugk, οὖν οὐκ ἂν ἄθλοιη Arnim: ἂν ἡσθείη UBT, ἀνεθείη M.

the ephebes and the young men, you immediately jump to the conclusion that he can improve you too. And, by Heaven, it is not true that, while the ephebes have need of instruction and virtue, those who are advanced in years, and in fact the entire city, do not. That would be just as if some physician were to think that boys or young men had need of medical attention, but not the adults. Yet must we not concede that in the matter of honours the city's magnanimity is surprising? For what mark of highest esteem have you not eagerly conferred? Have you not voted portraits, statues, embassies to the cities and to the Emperor?[1] Have you not shown honour by public recognition; have you not shown honour by individual greeting? Therefore what man would not be pleased when these rewards are so distinguished? Or what man would not be eager to do you any service in his power? Well then, I at least believe I have spoken in praise of this man too as effectively as I could, for the eulogy directed toward those who approve and honour a man clearly would be that man's highest praise.

[1] Dio obviously refers to the honour of serving on such embassies. The MS. reading should be retained.

[a] τοῦτον Cappa, τῶν.
[b] ἀτιμῶν Pflugk.

THE FIFTY-SECOND DISCOURSE ON AESCHYLUS AND SOPHOCLES AND EURIPIDES OR THE BOW OF PHILOCTETES

[illegible] to-day only in [illegible] in prose para- [illegible] by means of the [illegible]

[illegible] on the shores of [illegible] Ten years later when the

Greek fortunes were at a low ebb, upon the advice of the seer Calchas and by the stratagem of Odysseus the Trojan seer Helenus was taken captive. He revealed that Troy could be taken only with the aid of Philoctetes and his bow, and that Neoptolemus, the son of Achilles, must come from Scyros. Accordingly Diomedes is sent for Philoctetes and Odysseus for Neoptolemus. Philoctetes is healed of his wound, slays Paris, and in company with Neoptolemus causes the downfall of Troy. For further details the reader is referred to the introduction to Jebb's edition of the *Philoctetes* of Sophocles.

The occasion on which our Discourse was delivered is unknown. Dio's reference to the cold of morning might suggest his home in Prusa as the setting for his adventure in dramatic criticism. His allusion to ill health and his manifest sympathy for the lonely Philoctetes, victim of misfortune, suggest the period subsequent to Dio's exile as the time of composition.

52 ΠΕΡΙ ΑΙΣΧΥΛΟΥ ΚΑΙ ΣΟΦΟΚΛΕΟΥΣ ΚΑΙ ΕΥΡΙΠΙΔΟΥ Η ΠΕΡΙ ΤΩΝ ΦΙΛΟΚΤΗΤΟΥ ΤΟΞΩΝ

1 Ἀναστὰς σχεδόν τι περὶ πρώτην ὥραν τῆς ἡμέρας καὶ διὰ τὴν ἀρρωστίαν τοῦ σώματος καὶ διὰ τὸν ἀέρα ψυχρότερον ὄντα διὰ τὴν δύω καὶ μάλιστα μετοπωρῶ προσοικοῦντα καίτοι μεσοῦντος θέρους, ἐπεμελήθην ἑμαυτοῦ καὶ προσηυξάμην· ἔπειτα ἀνέβην ἐπὶ τὸ ζεύγος καὶ περιήλθον ἐν τῷ ἱπποδρόμῳ πολλοὺς τινὰς κύκλους, πρᾴως τε καὶ ἀλυπῶς ὡς οἷόν τε ὑπαγόντος τοῦ ζεύγους· καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα περιπατήσας ἀνεπαυσάμην μικρόν τινα χρόνον· ἔπειτα ἀλειψάμενος καὶ λουσάμενος καὶ μικρὸν ἐμφαγὼν ἐνέτυχον τραγῳδίαις τισί·

2 Σχεδὸν δὲ ἦσαν ἄκρων ἀνδρῶν, Αἰσχύλου καὶ Σοφοκλέους καὶ Εὐριπίδου, πάντων περὶ τὴν αὐτὴν ὑπόθεσιν· ἦν γὰρ ἡ τῶν Φιλοκτήτου τοξῶν εἴτε κλοπὴ εἴτε ἁρπαγή[1] δεῖ λέγειν· πλὴν ἀφαιρούμενός γε τῶν ὅπλων ἦν Φιλοκτήτης ὑπὸ τοῦ Ὀδυσσέως καὶ αὐτὸς εἰς τὴν Τροίαν ἀναγόμενος, τὸ μὲν πλεῖον ἑκών,[2] τὸ δέ τι καὶ πειθοῖ ἀναγκαίᾳ, ἐπειδὴ τῶν ὅπλων ἐστέρητο, ἃ τοῦτο μὲν βίον αὐτῷ παρεῖχεν ἐν τῇ νήσῳ, τοῦτο δὲ θάρσος ἐν τῇ τοιαύτῃ νόσῳ, ἅμα δὲ εὔκλειαν·

[1] ἁρπαγή] κλοπὴ Morel. [2] ἑκών Weicker ἄκων.

THE FIFTY SECOND DISCOURSE ON AESCHYLUS AND SOPHOCLES AND EURIPIDES OR THE BOW OF PHILOCTETES

Having risen about the first hour of the day, both on account of the feeble state of my health and also on account of the air which was rather cloudy because of the early hour and very much like an omen, though it was mid-summer, I put aside my tunic and performed my devotions. I next got into my carriage and made the round of the race course several times, my team moving along as gently and comfortably as possible. After that I took a stroll and then rested a bit. Next, after a rub down and bath and a light breakfast, I fell to reading certain tragedies.

These tragedies were the work of topmost artists, I may say, Aeschylus and Sophocles and Euripides, all dealing with the same theme, which was the theft—or should I say the seizure?—of the bow of Philoctetes. However that may be, Philoctetes was portrayed as being deprived of his weapons by Odysseus and as being carried off to Troy along with them, for the most part against, though in some measure also yielding to the persuasion of necessity, since he had been deprived of the weapons which furnished him with not only a living on his island, but courage in his sore affliction, and at the same time fame

3 Οὐκοῦν εὐωχούμην τῆς θέας καὶ ἐλογιζόμην πρὸς ἐμαυτὸν ὅτι τότε Ἀθήνησιν ὢν οὐκ οἶός τ' ἂν ἦν μετασχεῖν τῶν ἀνδρῶν ἐκείνων ἀνταγωνιζομένων, ἀλλὰ Σοφοκλέους μὲν πρὸς Αἰσχύλον νεον πρὸς γέροντα, καὶ πρὸς Εὐριπίδην πρεσβύτερον πρὸς νεωτερον ἀγωνιζομενου μετεσχον τινὸς Εὐριπίδης δ' ἀπελείφθη κατὰ τὴν ἡλικίαν Αἰσχύλου καὶ ἅμα οὐ πολλάκις ὅσως ἢ οὐδέποτε τῷ αὐτῷ δραματι ἀντηγωνισαντο αὐτος δὲ ἐφιλοσοφουν ἐμαυτῷ πάνυ τρυφαν καὶ τῆς ἀσθενειας παραμυθιαν κοινην ἔχειν
4 συνεκοῦν ἐχορηγουν ἐμαυτῷ παντι λαμπρως καὶ προσέχειν ἐπειρωμην, ὥσπερ δικαιοτης τῶν πρωτων τραγικῶν χορῶν

Πλην ὁμοσαι γε οὐκ ἂν ἐδυνάμην ἀποφηνασθαι οὐδεν, οὔ γε ἕνεκεν οὐδεις ἂν ἡττηθη τῶν ἀνδρῶν ἐκείνων ἥ τε γαρ τοῦ Αἰσχυλου μεγαλοφρουνη καὶ το ἀρχαῖον, ἔτι δὲ τὸ αὐθαδες τῆς διανοιας καὶ φρασεως, πρεποντα ἐφαινετο τραγωδια καὶ τοῖς παλαιοῖς ἤθεσι τῶν ἡρωων, οὐδ' ἐνῆν τι βεβουλευ-
5 μένον οὐδὲ στωμυλον οὐδὲ ταπεινον ἐπει τοι καὶ τον Ὀδυσσεα κιστῆν δριμυν καὶ δολιον, ὡς ἐν τοῖς τοτε, πολυ δὲ ἀπεχοντα τῆς νῦν κακοηθειας, ὥστε

[1] οὔ οὐδ' ἔμοιγε Arnim.
[2] οὐδ' ἀνὴρ τι Capps, οὐδὲν ἔχοντα Hermann, ἂν οὐδὲν Reiske οὐδέν.
[3] βεβουλευμένον Crosby ἀνεβεβουλευμένον.

[1] At Athens plays were regularly produced in competition.
[2] Aeschylus was born in 525 B.C. and died soon after 458. Sophocles in 468 at the age of 28 defeated Aeschylus, but lived until 405. Euripides began his career in 455, after Aeschylus had died, and died until 406.
[3] The duty of the choregus was to provide the funds needed by the chorusses of the particular poet to whom he had been assigned.

THE FIFTY SECOND DISCOURSE

So I was feasting my eyes on the spectacle portrayed by those statues and figuring to myself that, even if I had been in Athens in those days I could not have witnessed such a contest as this of those distinguished poets — [illegible] the [illegible] who [illegible] who did witness contests between the youthful Sophocles and the aged Aeschylus and some who saw the later Sophocles [illegible] Euripides, his junior, yet the [illegible] I [illegible] spanning the period of Aeschylus[1] and [illegible] the tragic poets seldom or never competed against one another with [illegible] [illegible] I was [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] I [illegible] [illegible] in very [illegible] and tried to pay close attention, as if I were a judge passing judgement on the premier tragic [illegible].[2]

[illegible] I could not or [illegible] have produced a single reason why any one of these great poets ought not have been defeated. For both the [illegible] of character and the unique flavour of Aeschylus as well as the rugged [illegible] of his thought and [illegible] seemed suited to tragic [illegible] the [illegible] manners of the heroes;[3] nor was there aught of premeditation or posing or humanity in their bearing. For example, even his Odysseus he brought upon the scene as a shrewd and crafty person,[4] as men were in those days, yet far removed from the rascality of to-day; in consequence

[1] Ten citizens were appointed for each festival at which plays were produced to judge the contests and to award the prize.

[2] I.e. the old Greek demigods, whose fortunes provided the material for the tragedies.

[3] Homer constantly calls Odysseus [illegible]

τῷ ὄντι ἀρχαῖον ἂν δόξαι παρὰ τοὺς νῦν ἁπλοῦν εἶναι βουλομένους καὶ μεγαλόφρονας· καὶ οὐδέν γε ἀλλαττοῦσης τῆς Ἀθηνᾶς προσεδεήθη πρὸς τὸ μὴ γνωσθῆναι ὅστις ἐστὶν ὑπὸ τοῦ Φιλοκτήτου, καθάπερ Ὅμηρος κἀκεῖνῳ δὴ ἐπόμενος Εὐριπίδης ἐποίησεν· ὥστε τυχὸν ἂν τις ἐγκαλέσαι τῶν οὐ φιλούντων τὸν ἄνδρα, ὅτι οὐδὲν αὐτῷ ἐμέλησεν ὅπως πιθανὸς ἔσται ὁ Ὀδυσσεὺς οὐ γιγνωσκόμενος ὑπὸ τοῦ Φιλοκτήτου· ἔχοι δ' ἂν ἀπολογίαν, ὡς ἐγώμαι, πρὸς τὸ τοιοῦτον· ὁ μὲν γὰρ χρόνος τυχὸν οὐκ' ἦν τοσοῦτος, ὥστε μὴ ἀνενεγκεῖν τὸν χαρακτῆρα, δέκα ἐτῶν διαγεγενοτῶν, ἡ δὲ νόσος ἡ τοῦ Φιλοκτήτου καὶ κάκωσις καὶ τὸ ἐν ἐρημίᾳ βεβιωκέναι τὸν μεταξὺ χρόνον οὐκ ἀδύνατον τοῦτο ἐποίει· πολλοὶ γὰρ ἤδη, οἱ μὲν ὑπὸ ἀσθενείας, οἱ δὲ ὑπὸ δυστυχίας, ἐπαθον αὐτό.

Καὶ μὴν ὁ χορὸς αὐτῷ παραιτήσεως, ὥσπερ ὁ τοῦ Εὐριπίδου, οὐδὲν ἐδεήθη· ἄμφω γὰρ ἐκ τῶν Λημνίων ἐποίησαν τὸν χορόν· ἀλλ' ὁ μὲν Εὐριπίδης εὐθὺς ἀπολογούμενον πεποίηκε περὶ τῆς προτέρου ἀμελείας, ὅτι δὴ τοσούτων ἐτῶν οὔτε προσελθοῦσι πρὸς τὸν Φιλοκτήτην οὔτε βοηθήσαι οὐδὲν αὐτῷ· ὁ δ' Αἰσχύλος ἁπλῶς εἰσήγαγε τὸν χορόν, ὁ τῷ ὄντι[3] τραγικώτερον καὶ ἁπλούστερον· τὸ δ' ἕτερον πολιτικώτερον καὶ ἀκριβέστερον· καὶ γὰρ εἰ μὲν ἐδύνατο πᾶσας διαφεύγειν τὰς ἀλογίας ἐν ταῖς τραγῳδίαις, ἴσως ἂν εἶχε λόγον μηδὲ τοῦτο

[2] ἐνοίκων deleted by Arnim with I HM
[3] ὁ τῷ ὄντι Emperius: χορὸν τῷ ὄντι codd.

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

παρανέμφαι νῦν δὲ πολλάκις ἐν μιᾷ ἡμέρᾳ παραγιγνομένους ποιοῦσι τοὺς κήρυκας πλείονων ἡμερῶν
8 ὁδόν· ἔνειτα οὐδ' ἀπόβτως ἔχει· μήτε[1] προσελθεῖν αὐτῷ μηδένα Ἠλείων μήτε[2] ἐπιμεληθῆναι μηδέν· δοκεῖ γὰρ μοι οὐδ' ἂν διεγένετο τὰ δέκα ἔτη μηδεμιᾶς τυγχάνων βοηθείας· ἀλλ' εἰκὸς μὲν τυγχάνειν αὐτόν, σπανίως δὲ καὶ σιδηρὸς μεγάλου· καὶ μηδένα αἱρεῖσθαι οἰκεῖα ὑποδέξασθαι καὶ κοιμίσαι διὰ τὴν διαφορὰν τῆς νόσου· αὐτὸς γοῦν ὁ Εὐριπίδης τὸν Ἀκτορα εἰσάγει, ὅτι Ἠλείων, ὡς γνώριμον τῷ Φιλοκτήτῃ πρεσβεύοντα καὶ πολλάκις συμβεβληκότα.

9 Οὐ τοίνυν οὐδὲ ἀνάξιον δοκεῖ μοι δικαίως ἂν τις αἰτιάσασθαι, τὸ διηγεῖσθαι πρὸς τὸν χορὸν ὡς ἀγγέλλοντα τὰ περὶ τὴν ἀπόλειψιν τῶν Ἀχαιῶν καὶ τὰ καθόλου συμβαίνοντα αὐτοῖς· αἱ γὰρ δυστυχοῦντες ἄνθρωποι πολλάκις εἰώθασι μαίνεσθαι τῶν συμφόρων καὶ τοῖς εἴδεσιν ἀκριβῶς καὶ μηδὲν δεομένοις ἀκούειν ἐπιχαίρουσιν ἀεὶ διηγούμενοι· καὶ μὴν ἡ ἀπάτη ἡ τοῦ Ὀδυσσέως πρὸς τὸν Φιλοκτήτην καὶ οἱ λόγοι δι' ὧν προσηγάγετο αὐτόν, οὐ μόνον εὐσχημονέστεροι καὶ ἥρωι πρέποντες, ἀλλ' οὐκ Εὐριπίδου ἢ Παταικείωνος ἀλλ' ὡς ἐμοὶ δοκοῦσι,
10 καὶ πιθανώτεροι· τί γὰρ ἔδει ποικίλης τέχνης καὶ ἐπιβουλῆς πρὸς ἄνδρα νοσοῦντα, καὶ ταῦτα τοξό-

[1] οὐδ' ἀνάξιον ἔφη Capps · οὐδὲ δὲ ἀνάξιον ἦν
[2] μήτε Emperius · μηδέ.
[3] καὶ ... Capps · Ἀπόλλων καὶ Ἄρτεμις Ε ΠΗΜ
[4] ἔδει Emperius · δεῖ or δεῖ

[1] In the *Agamemnon* of Aeschylus not only he herself but even Agamemnon himself and his escort arrive in Argos the day following the fall of Troy.

refusing to glow over even this instance. But as the traitor, the poets affirm, came back to complete in a single day a journey which took for several days. Again, it was not impossible to conceive that such a single day was not [illegible] Phoenicia [illegible] to [illegible] and [illegible] years without receiving [illegible] and [illegible] it reasonable to suppose that he [illegible] and [illegible] early and [illegible] great importance and [illegible] at [illegible] claim [illegible] and give him [illegible] of [illegible] [illegible] of [illegible] [illegible] Achilles himself [illegible] being upon the [illegible] Achilles who [illegible] Phoenicia as being already known to him and as having [illegible]

Further, [illegible] I [illegible] that we could justly find fault with Achilles for [illegible] that he [illegible] the Achaeans as if they were in great [illegible] the details concerning his [illegible] by the Achaeans and [illegible] The reason is that [illegible] we want to recall [illegible] by their constant recurring of [illegible] they have those who know [illegible] already and have no need to be [illegible] Then again, the deception which Odysseus practised upon Phoenicia and the arguments by which he won him over are not [illegible] and [illegible] to a hero—though not the words of a Euryhates or a Palamedes!

[illegible] in my opinion they are even more plausible. For what need was there for such [illegible] and cheating in dealing with a sick man and, what is more, an

* Cf. Sophocles, *Philoctetes* [illegible]

† Such characters [illegible] usually

τὴν, ᾧ εἴ τις μόνον ἐγγὺς παρέστη, ἀχρεῖος ἡ ἀλκὴ αὐτοῦ ἐγεγόνει, καὶ τὸ ἀπαγγέλλειν δὲ τὰς τῶν Ἀχαιῶν συμφορὰς καὶ τὸν Ἀγαμέμνονα τεθνηκότα καὶ τὸν Ὀδυσσέα ἐπ' αἰτίᾳ ὄντα[1] *ὡς οἷόν τε αἰσχίστῃ καὶ καθάλου τὸ στράτευμα διεφθαρμένον οὐ μόνον χρήσιμον, ὥστε εὐφρᾶναι*[2] *τὸν Φιλοκτήτην καὶ προσδέξασθαι μᾶλλον τὴν τοῦ Ὀδυσσέως ὁμιλίαν, ἀλλ' οὐδ' ἀπίθανον*[3] *τρόπον τινὶ δυὶ τὸ μῆκος τῆς στρατείας καὶ δυὶ τὰ συμβεβηκότα οὐ πάλαι κατὰ τὴν ὀργὴν τοῦ Ἀχιλλέως, ὅθ' Ἕκτωρ παρὰ σμικρὸν ἦλθεν ἐμπρῆσαι τὸν ναύσταθμον*

11 *Ἡ τε τοῦ Εὐριπίδου συνεσις καὶ περὶ πάντα ἐπιμέλεια, ὥστε μήτε ἀπίθανον τι καὶ παρημεληκμένον ἐᾶσαι μήτε ἁπλῶς τοῖς πράγμασι χρῆσθαι, ἀλλὰ μετὰ πάσης ἐν τῷ εἰπεῖν δυνάμεως, ὥσπερ ἀντίστροφός ἐστι τῇ τοῦ Αἰσχύλου,*[4] *πολιτικωτάτη καὶ ῥητορικωτάτη οὖσα καὶ τοῖς ἐντυγχάνουσι πλείστην ὠφέλειαν παρασχεῖν δυναμένη εὐθὺς γοῦν πεποίηται προλογίζων αὐτῷ ὁ Ὀδυσσεὺς καὶ*[5] *ἄλλα τε ἐνθυμήματα πολιτικὰ στρέφων ἐν ἑαυτῷ καὶ πρῶτόν γε διαπορῶν ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ, μὴ ἄρα δοκῇ μὲν τοῖς πολλοῖς σοφός τις εἶναι καὶ διαφέρων τὴν*

12 *σύνεσιν, ᾗ δὲ τοὐναντίον· ἐξὸν γὰρ αὐτῷ ἀλύπως*

[1] *ὄντα* added by Cappa.
[2] *εὐφρᾶναι*] *εὐφρανθῆναι* Gaede.
[3] *ἀπίθανον* Crosby: *ἀπίθανα*.
[4] After *Αἰσχύλου* Cap. p. cf. infra § 15 *τὸ αὐθάδες καὶ ἀπλοῦν*) adds *αὐθαδίᾳ*, Meineke *ἁπλότητι*.
[5] *καὶ* deleted by Wilamowitz.

[1] We do not know what particular charge was trumped

archer, whose means of defence had lost its power the moment any mere trifle came to him. Besides, the device of having Odysseus report that the Achaeans had met with disaster, that Agamemnon had died, that Odysseus had been charged with an act that was utterly disgraceful, and that, in general, the expedition had gone to rack and ruin, was not merely serviceable toward cheering Philoctetes and making the discourse of Odysseus more acceptable,[a] but in a way it was not without plausibility either, because of the length of the campaign and because of what had happened not so long before in consequence of the wrath of Achilles, at the time when Hector barely missed burning the naval station.[b]

Again, the sagacity of Euripides and his careful attention to every detail, as a result of which not only does he not create anything which is not quite believable or marred by carelessness, but also he handles [illegible] in the telling—all this forms, as it were, an antithesis to the nature of Aeschylus, being to a high degree characteristic of the statesman and the orator and capable of proving most useful to those who read him. At the very outset of his play, for instance, Odysseus is introduced as speaker of the prologue and as not merely debating questions of our nature in general, but first and foremost expressing [illegible] on his own account, lest while generally reputed to be wise and distinguished for sagacity, he may really be the opposite; for though he might live free from care and trouble, he is ever being

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[a] Of course the whole tale was a fiction intended to hoodwink Philoctetes.

[b] *Iliad* 15. 592-746.

καὶ ἀπραγμόνως ζῆν, ὁ δὲ ἀεὶ ἐν πράγμασι καὶ πολύπονος γίγνεται· τούτου δὲ φησιν αἴτιον εἶναι τὴν τῶν εὐφυῶν καὶ γενναίων ἀνδρῶν φιλοτιμίαν· δοξῆς γὰρ ἀγαθῆς ἐφιέμενοι καὶ τοῖς εὐκλείοις παρὰ πᾶσι ἀνθρώποις εἶναι μεγίστοις καὶ χαλεπωτάτοις ἀσκοῦντες ποιοῦν ὑφιστάμενοι

οὐδὲν γὰρ οὕτω γαῦρον ὡς ἀνὴρ ἑφυ

Ἔπειτα σαφῶς καὶ ἀκριβῶς δηλοῖ τὴν τοῦ δράματος ὑποθέσιν καὶ οὗ ἕνεκεν ἐλθόντες εἰς τὴν
13 Λῆμνον φησί τε ὑπὸ τῆς Ἀθηνᾶς ἠλλοιῶσθαι, ὥστε ἐντυχόντα τῷ Φιλοκτήτῃ μὴ γνωσθῆναι ὑπ' αὐτοῦ, μιμησάμενος κατὰ τοῦτο Ὅμηρον· καὶ γὰρ ἐκεῖνος τοῖς τε ἄλλοις καὶ τῷ Λαερτῇ καὶ τῇ Πηνελόπῃ πεποίηκεν ἀναγνωσθέντα τὸν Ὀδυσσέα ἠλλοιωμένον ὑπὸ τῆς Ἀθηνᾶς· φησί τε πρεσβείαν μελλεῖν παρὰ τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἀφικνεῖσθαι πρὸς τὸν Φιλοκτήτην, δεησομένην αὐτόν τε καὶ τὰ ὅπλα ἐκείνοις παραδοῦναι ἐπὶ τῇ τῆς Τροίας βασιλείᾳ,' ποικιλώτερον τὸ δρᾶμα κατασκευάζων καὶ ἀνευρίσκων λόγων ἀφορμὰς καθ' ἃς εἰς τὰ ἐναντία ἐπιχειρῶν εὐπορώτατος καὶ παρ' ἀντιπάλῳ ἱκανω-
14 τάτος φαίνεται· οὐ μόνον δὲ πεποίηκε τὸν Ὀδυσσέα παραγινόμενον, ἀλλὰ μετὰ τοῦ Διομήδους, ὁμηρικῶς καὶ τοῦτο· καὶ τὸ ὅλον, ὡς ἔφην, δι' ὅλου τοῦ δράματος πλείστην μὲν ἐν τοῖς πράγμασι[3] σύνεσιν καὶ πιθανότητα ἐπιδείκνυται, ἀμήχανον δὲ καὶ θαυμαστὴν ἐν τοῖς λόγοις δύναμιν, καὶ τά τε

[1] βουλεύς' ἄλλως Petersdorf.
[2] δὲ deleted by Arnim.
[3] πράγμασι Valckenaer: δράμασι.

[1] Nauck, *Trag. Graec. Frag.*, Euripides, frag. 788.

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

ἰαμβεῖα σαφῶς καὶ κατὰ φύσιν καὶ πολιτικῶς ἔχοντα, καὶ τὰ μέλη οὐ μόνον ἡδονήν, ἀλλὰ καὶ πολλὴν πρὸς ἀρετὴν παράκλησιν

15 Ὁ τε Σοφοκλῆς μέσος ἔοικεν ἀμφοῖν εἶναι, οὔτε τὸ αὔθαδες καὶ ἁπλοῦν τὸ τοῦ Αἰσχύλου ἔχων οὔτε τὸ ἀκριβὲς καὶ δριμὺ καὶ πολιτικὸν τὸ τοῦ Εὐριπίδου, σεμνήν δέ τινα καὶ μεγαλοπρεπῆ ποιησιν τραγικώτατα καὶ εὐπρεπέστατα ἔχουσαι, ὥστε πλείστην εἶναι ἡδονὴν μετὰ ὕψους καὶ σεμνότητος τῇ τε διασκευῇ τῶν πραγμάτων ἀρίστῃ καὶ πιθανωτάτῃ κεχρῆται, ποιήσας τὸν Ὀδυσσέα μετὰ Νεοπτολέμου παραγιγνόμενον, ἐπειδὴ εἵμαρτο ἁλῶναι τὴν Τροίαν ὑπό τε τοῦ Νεοπτολέμου καὶ τοῦ Φιλοκτήτου χρωμένου τοῖς Ἡρακλείοις τόξοις, καὶ αὐτὸν μὲν ἀποκρυπτόμενον, τὸν δὲ Νεοπτολεμον πεμπόντα πρὸς τὸν Φιλοκτήτην, ὑποτιθέμενον αὐτῷ ἃ δεῖ ποιεῖν καὶ τὸν χορὸν οὐχ ὥσπερ ὁ Αἰσχύλος καὶ Εὐριπίδης ἐκ τῶν ἐπιχωρίων πεποίηκεν, ἀλλὰ τῶν ἐν τῇ νηῒ συμπλεόντων τῷ Ὀδυσσεῖ καὶ τῷ Νεοπτολέμῳ.

16 Τά τε ἤθη θαυμαστῶς σεμνὰ καὶ ἐλευθέρια, τό τε τοῦ Ὀδυσσέως πολὺ πρότερον καὶ ἁπλούστερον ἢ πεποίηκεν ὁ Εὐριπίδης, τό τε τοῦ Νεοπτολέμου ὑπερβάλλον ἁπλότητι καὶ εὐγενείᾳ, πρῶτον μὲν μὴ βουλομένου δόλῳ καὶ ἀπάτῃ περιγενέσθαι τοῦ Φιλοκτήτου, ἀλλὰ ἰσχύϊ καὶ ἐκ τοῦ φανεροῦ· ἔπειτα πεισθεὶς ὑπὸ τοῦ Ὀδυσσέως καὶ ἐξαπατήσας αὐτὸν καὶ τῶν τόξων ἐγκρατὴς γενόμενος, αἰσθομένου ἐκείνου καὶ ὡς ἐξηπατημένου σχετλιάζοντος καὶ

dialogue that is clear and natural and urbane — and lyrics that not only are delightful but also contain a strong narrative forward motion.

And in Sophocles he seems to stand midway between the [illegible] of Aeschylus and the [illegible] of Euripides and Aristophanes. Sophocles's characters are [illegible] and urbane, and he produces a poetry that is elegant and [illegible]. Yet tragedy is [illegible] in its physique so that there is [illegible] and stateliness. In his management of the action he is most excellent and [illegible]. [illegible] causes [illegible] to arise in [illegible] with Neoptolemus [illegible] Philoctetes [illegible] Odysseus [illegible] Philoctetes [illegible] suggesting to him what he must do. Furthermore, he has contrasted his characters of the princes of Lemnos as Aeschylus and Euripides do, but of those who sailed in the ship along with Odysseus and Neoptolemus.

Again as Sophocles portrays them, the characters in the drama are wonderfully [illegible] and noble. Odysseus, being much more gentle and [illegible] than Diomedes, has deceived him, and he, Neoptolemus, surpassing all in arrogance and [illegible] — at first he aims to get the archer of Philoctetes not by craft and deception, but by strength and without disguise. Then after he has been persuaded upon by Odysseus and has treated Philoctetes and gained possession of the bow, when Philoctetes becomes aware of what has happened, is indignant at the deception which has been practiced upon him, and

ἀπαιτοῦντος τὰ ὅπλα, οὐ κατέχει, ἀλλ' οἷός τέ ἐστιν ἀποδιδόναι αὐτά, καίτοι τοῦ Ὀδυσσέως ἐπιφανέντος καὶ διακωλύοντος, καὶ τέλος δίδωσιν αὐτά· δοὺς δὲ τῷ λόγῳ πειρᾶται πείθειν ἑκόντα
17 ἀκολουθῆσαι εἰς τὴν Τροίαν· τοῦ δὲ Φιλοκτήτου μηδένα τρόπον εἴκοντος μηδὲ πειθομένου, ἀλλὰ δεομένου τοῦ Νεοπτολέμου, ὥσπερ ὑπέσχετο, ἀπαγαγεῖν αὐτὸν εἰς τὴν Ἑλλάδα, ὑπισχνεῖται καὶ ἕτοιμός ἐστι ποιεῖν τοῦτο, μέχρι ἐπιφανεὶς Ἡρακλῆς πείθει τὸν Φιλοκτήτην ἑκόντα εἰς τὴν Τροίαν πλεῦσαι.

Τά τε μέλη οὐκ ἔχει πολὺ τὸ γνωμικὸν οὐδὲ πρὸς ἀρετὴν παράκλησιν, ὥσπερ τὰ τοῦ Εὐριπίδου, ἡδονὴν δὲ θαυμαστὴν καὶ μεγαλοπρέπειαν, ὥστε μὴ εἰκῇ τοιαῦτα περὶ αὐτοῦ τὸν Ἀριστοφάνην εἰρηκέναι

ὁ δ' αὖ Σοφοκλέους τοῦ μέλιτι κεχρισμένου
ὥσπερ καδίσκον περιέλειχε τὸ στόμα

[1] An instance of the *deus ex machina*, so familiar in the plays of Euripides but not unknown in the plays of Aeschylus and Sophocles also. It is to be borne in mind that the dramatic contest was a religious festival. The audience must have enjoyed such theophanies.

demands the return of his weapons, Neoptolemus does not try to retain possession of them but is prepared to return them—though Odysseus appears on the scene and tries to prevent this—and he finally does return them; yet after he has handed them over he tries by argument to persuade Philoctetes to accompany him voluntarily to Troy. But when Philoctetes will by no means yield or be persuaded, but entreats Neoptolemus to take him back to Greece, as he had promised to do, Neoptolemus once more gives his promise, and he is prepared to keep his word, until Heracles comes upon the scene and persuades Philoctetes to sail to Troy of his own free will.

The lyrics of Sophocles do not contain the didactic element to any great extent, nor any incentive to virtue such as we find in the lyrics of Euripides, but a marvellous sweetness and magnificence, such that Aristophanes could say of him not without reason words like these:

> But he in turn the lips of Sophocles,
> With honey smeared, did lick as if a jar.[a]

[a] Kock, *Com. Att. Frag.*, Aristophanes, frag. 581. The subject of the verb ἀπέλειχε presumably was Euripides, who is said to have owed to Sophocles his honeyed tongue.

THE FIFTY-THIRD DISCOURSE ON HOMER

[illegible] composition of our Discourse.

[illegible] need [illegible] testimony to the [illegible] testimony to the surprising [illegible]

53. ΠΕΡΙ ΟΜΗΡΟΥ

1 Ὁ μὲν Δημόκριτος περὶ Ὁμήρου φησὶν οὕτως· Ὅμηρος φύσεως λιχνεύσας θεαζούσης ἐπέων κόσμον ἐτεκτήνατο παντοίων· ὡς οὐκ ἔνεστι θέσει καὶ δαιμονίας φύσεως οὕτως καλὰ καὶ σοφὰ ἐπὶ ἔργα σασθαι· πολλοὶ δὲ καὶ ἄλλοι γεγράφασιν οἱ μὲν ἀντικρὺς ἐγκωμιάζοντες τὸν ποιητὴν ἅμα καὶ δηλοῦντες ἅπερ τῶν ὑπ' αὐτοῦ λεγομένων, οἱ δὲ αὐτὰ τοῦτο τὴν διάνοιαν ἐξηγούμενοι, οὐ μόνον Ἀρίσταρχος καὶ Κράτης καὶ ἕτεροι πλείους τῶν ὕστερον γραμματικῶν κληθέντων, πρότερον δὲ κριτικῶν καὶ δὴ καὶ αὐτὸς Ἀριστοτέλης, ἀφ' οὗ φασι τὴν κριτικήν τε καὶ γραμματικὴν ἀρχὴν λαβεῖν, ἐν πολλοῖς διαλόγοις περὶ τοῦ ποιητοῦ διέξεισι, θαυμάζων αὐτὸν ὡς τὰ πολὺ καὶ τιμῶν, ἔτι δὲ Ἡρακλείδης ὁ Ποντικός

2 Τούτων δὲ πρότερος Πλάτων παντάχοῦ μέμνηται, τὴν μὲν ἡδονὴν καὶ χάριν τὴν τῶν ἐπῶν ἐκπληττόμενος, πολλάκις γε μὴν ἐπιμεμφόμενος ἐν τοῖς περὶ θεῶν μύθοις τε καὶ λόγοις, ὡς οὐ συμ-

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[1] Famous philosopher of the Ionian school. Cf. Diels, *Frag. d. Vorsokr.* I. 394.

[2] Perhaps a contemporary of Solon. Cf. Pätmonds, *Klopp und Jambul* I. [illegible] 1 1 4.

[3] Distinguished Alexandrine scholar and editor of the works of Homer.

THE FIFTY THIRD DISCOURSE ON HOMER

Dionysius[1] expresses his opinion of Homer in these words: "Homer, having been blessed with a divinely inspired genius, fashioned an ornament of verses[2] of every kind, thus indicating his belief that without a divine and superhuman nature it is impossible to produce verses of such beauty and wisdom. Many others too have written on this subject, some expressly naming the poet and at the same time pointing out some of his wise sayings, while others have busied themselves with interpreting the thought itself, this group including not merely Aristarchus[3] and Crates[4] and several others of those who later were called grammarians but formerly critics. In fact Aristotle himself, with whom they say that literary interpretation and criticism began, treats of the poet in many dialogues, admiring him in general and paying him honour, as does also Heracleides of Pontus."

Prior to these, however, Plato mentions Homer at every opportunity, marvelling at the charm and grace of his poesy,[5] though often censuring him in respect of his myths and tales about the gods, holding that he

[1] Head of the Pergamene school and rival of Aristarchus.
[2] Pupil of both Plato and Aristotle.
[3] Cf. *Republic* 595 B-C and 607 A.

φέροντα τοῖς ἀνθρώποις οὐδαμοῦ αὐτὸν εἰρηκότα, πλεονεξίας καὶ ἐπιβουλὰς κατ' ἀλλήλων καὶ μοιχείας καὶ ἔριδας καὶ φιλονεικίας[1] περὶ θεῶν ἐπεξιόντα μετὰ ταῦτα δὲ οὐ μεταδιδοὺς αὐτῷ τῆς αὐτοῦ πόλεώς τε καὶ πολιτείας σοφῆς, ὡς αὐτός ἐνόμιζεν, ἀσομένης, ἵνα μήτε ταῦτα ἀκούωσι περὶ θεῶν νεοι ὄντες οὓς ἐκεῖνος ἀποφαίνει φιλακάς τε καὶ ἡγεμόνας τῆς πόλεως, μηδ' αὖ περὶ τῶν ἐν Ἅιδου μηδὲν ἀνθρωπον λεγομενον μιλικωτέρους αὐτους πρός τε τὸ μαχεσθαι καὶ τὸ ἀποθνησκειν ποιῇ μηδὲ ὥσπερ πωλους κακῶς πωλευθεντας ἐξ ἀρχῆς ὑπόπτους πρὸς τὰ μη φοβερά[2]

3 Περὶ μὲν δὴ τουτων ἕτερος λόγος πλείων καὶ μακρότερος καὶ οὐ ῥᾴδιος, πότερον Ὅμηρος ἥμαρτε περὶ ταῦτα ἢ φυσικους τινας ἐνοντας ἐν τοῖς μυθοις λογους κατὰ τὴν τοτε συνηθειαν παραδιδου τοῖς ἀνθρωποις οὐ γαρ ῥᾴδιον διαιτῆσαι[3] τι τοιοῦτον, καθαπερ, οἶμαι, δύο φίλων ἀνδρῶν, ἀμφοτέρων σεμνῶν, τοῦ ἑτερου τῷ ἑτέρῳ ἐγκαλοῦντος, ἑνός αὐτῶν καταγνῶναι.

4 Γέγραφε δὲ καὶ Ζήνων ὁ φιλόσοφος εἴς τε τὴν Ἰλιάδα καὶ τὴν Ὀδυσσειαν, καὶ περὶ τοῦ Μαργίτου δέ δοκεῖ γαρ καὶ τοῦτο τὸ ποιημα ὑπὸ Ὁμήρου

[1] φιλονεικίας φιλοπείας M
[2] ὑπόπτους φοβερα Seiden ὑπὸ τοὺς πρὸς τα μὴ φόβα.
[3] διαιτῆσαι Seiden διαστῆσαι or διαστῆναι.

[1] *Republic* 376 e–e.
[2] Cf. *Republic* 386 a. Plato's quarrel was with all poetry except hymns and encomia of great men (e.g., *Republic* 607 a).
[3] *Republic* 386–387 c.

has told what was not at all beneficial to mankind when he narrates his myths about the gods, instances of greed, of scheming against one another, and of adulteries and woundings and imprisonments. And finally he persists to the point of refusing to admit Homer to membership in his own state and assigns as the reason [illegible] would be founded upon wisdom, [illegible] not only that those whom he designed to be guardians and leaders of the state should not have heard such tales about gods, but [illegible] account of [illegible] in the [illegible] them to be [illegible] and both [illegible] which [illegible] had [illegible] on the state [illegible] things which are not [illegible][1]

Regarding these matters there is current another theory which is [illegible] and not easy to [illegible] having to do with the question whether Homer erred in these passages or whether he was merely [illegible] certain doctrines about natural phenomena [illegible] the myths after the fashion then in vogue.[2] Indeed it is not easy to [illegible] such a question [illegible] as in my opinion, it is not easy to decide against one of two men who are [illegible] both being worthy of respect, when each makes charges against the other.

But to continue, Zeno[3] the philosopher also has written on both the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey*, and in fact on the *Margites* too;[4] for he believes that this poem also was composed by Homer at the time when

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[1] *Republic* 413 D.

[2] An allegorical interpretation of Homer was fairly common.

[3] Founder of the Stoic school.

[4] A comic poem no longer extant. Even Aristotle believed it to be the work of Homer (*Poetics* 4. 10).

γεγονέναι πωτέρου καὶ ἀποπειρωμένου τῆς αὐτοῦ
5 φυσεως πρὸς ποιησιν· ὁ δὲ Ζηνων οὐδεν τῶν τοῦ
Ὁμήρου ψεγει,[1] ἅμα[2] διηγουμενος καὶ διδασκων
ὅτι τὰ μὲν κατα δοξαν, τα δε κατὰ ἀληθειαν γε
γραφεν, ὅπως μη φαυηται αὐτος αὐτῷ μαχόμενος
ἢν τισι δοκοῦσιν ἐναντίως εἰρῆσθαι· ὁ δὲ λογος
οὗτος Ἀντισθενους ἐστὶ πρότερον, ὅτι τὰ μὲν δοξῃ,
τα δε ἀληθείᾳ εἴρηται τῷ ποιητῇ· ἀλλ' ὁ μὲν οὐκ
ἐξειργασατο αὐτον, ὁ δὲ καθ' ἕκαστον τῶν ἐπι
μερους εδιλωσεν· ἔτι δε καὶ Περιπτος ὁ τοῦ
Ζηνωνος κατα τὴν αὐτην[3] ὑποθεσιν γεγραφε καὶ
ἄλλοι πλείους.

Ὁ δὲ Πλάτων ἅμα αἰτιώμενος αὐτόν, ὡς εἶπον, καὶ τὴν δυναμιν αὐτοῦ θαυμαστὴν τινα ἀποφαίνει τῆς ποιήσεως, ὡς ἱκανον[4] παντὸς χρηματος καὶ πάσας ἀτεχνως ἀφιέντα φωνας, ποταμων τε καὶ ἀνεμῶν καὶ κυμάτων· καὶ κελεύει μαλα εἰρωνικῶς[5] στεφανωσαντας αὐτὸν ἔριῳ καὶ μύρῳ[6] καταχέαντας ἀφιέναι παρ' ἄλλους[7]·

[1] φεγει Kayser: λεγει.
[2] ἅμα Jacobs: ἀλλα.
[3] κατὰ τὴν αὐτὴν Cobet: καθ' αὐτὴν or κατα τὴν.
[4] ἱκανον Cobet: ἱκανα Ms.
[5] εἰρωνικως Cobet: Ms.: εἰρηνικῶς.
[6] μυρῳ Cobet: μυρῳ.
[7] Ἀλλ' παρ' ἄλλους the mss. read τοῦτο δὲ αἱ γυναῖκες δεῖ τῶν μαλθακῶν ποιοῦσιν, but this the women do in the case of the meadows, which Crusius deletes as an interpolation.

[1] The Ionic sidereles in Homer have figured largely in Homeric criticism until recent years.
[2] A Stoic philosopher and founder of that school.
[3] In this paragraph Dio has conflated two closely connected passages in the *Republic* (i. 496 a, ἵππους χρυσοῦ καὶ ἐλαίας στεφανοῦσιν καὶ βροντὰς καὶ ταῦτα αἰ τὰ τοιαῦτα ἡ μαινόμενοι "Well, then, neighing horses and lowing bulls,

he was rather young and was testing his poetic genius. However, Zoïlus finds fault with some of the work of Homer, undertaking to interpret it and at the same time to show that the poet has written some things in accord with fancy and some things in accord with truth; Zoïlus's purpose being to save Homer from [illegible] that was made use of certain matters which are [illegible] by the poet [illegible] with each other as narrated by Homer. But Aristotle, as opposed to Zoïlus in this theory, maintains that some things have been spoken by the poet in accord with fancy and some in accord with reality; however, Aristotle does not elaborate the theory, whereas Zoïlus made it [illegible] in detail. Moreover, Porphyrius, the pupil of Zoïlus, also has criticized the same poem in his writings, as have several others as well.

But to return to Plato, while finding fault with Homer, as I have said, he at the same time deserves his praise [illegible] being that Homer is capable of everything and reproduces literally every voice, cries of rivers, winds and waves. Moreover, however, [illegible] to bind the poet's brows with a fillet of wool, pour perfume on him, and send him somewhere else.[1]

[illegible] and the noise of [illegible] and their [illegible] of the sea and everything of that [illegible] [illegible] of assuming every kind of shape and [illegible] should arrive in our

6 Ἔτι δὲ καὶ αὐτὸς τῆς χάριτος ἐπαινῶν[1] τὴν ποίησιν σφόδρα ἄγαται[2] τὸν ἄνδρα· ἀτεχνῶς γὰρ οὐκ ἄνευ θείας τύχης οὐδ' ἄνευ Μουσῶν τε καὶ Ἀπόλλωνος ἐπιπνοίας δυνατὸν οὕτως ὑψηλὴν καὶ μεγαλοπρεπῆ καὶ προσέτι ἡδεῖαν γενέσθαι ποίησιν, ὥστε μὴ μόνον τοὺς ὁμογλώττους καὶ ὁμοφώνους τοσοῦτον ἤδη κατέχειν χρόνον· ἀλλὰ καὶ τῶν βαρβάρων πολλούς καὶ τοὺς μὲν διγλώττους καὶ μιγάδας σφόδρα ἐμπείρους εἶναι τῶν ἐπῶν αὐτοῦ, πολλὰ τῶν ἄλλων ἀγνοοῦντας τῶν Ἑλληνικῶν, ἑκούς δὲ καὶ τῶν σφόδρα μακρὰν διῳκισμένων ὁπότε καὶ παρ' Ἰνδοῖς φασιν ᾄδεσθαι τὴν Ὁμήρου ποίησιν, μεταβαλόντων[3] αὐτὴν εἰς τὴν σφετέραν
7 διάλεκτόν τε καὶ φωνήν· ὥστε καὶ Ἰνδοὶ τῶν μὲν ἄστρων τῶν παρ' ἡμῖν πολλῶν εἰσιν ἀθέατοι τὰς γὰρ ἄρκτους οὔ φασι φαίνεσθαι παρ' αὐτοῖς· τῶν δὲ Πριάμου παθημάτων καὶ τῶν Ἀνδρομάχης καὶ Ἑκάβης θρήνων καὶ ὀδυρμῶν καὶ τῆς Ἀχιλλέως τε καὶ Ἕκτορος ἀνδρείας οὐκ ἀπείρως ἔχουσιν· τοσοῦτον ἴσχυσεν ἑνὸς ἀνδρὸς μουσική· καὶ δοκεῖ ὁμοίως τῇ δυνάμει ταύτῃ τάς τε Σειρήνας ὑπερβα-
8 λέσθαι καὶ τὸν Ὀρφέα· τό γὰρ λίθους τε καὶ

[1] ἐπαινῶν Capps: ἐπων or ἐπῶν.
[2] ἄγαται with BU: ἔγεσθαι.
[3] μεταβαλόντων with A: μεταβαλλόντων H, μεταλαβόντων UPM

city, we should fall down and worship him as a holy and wondrous and delightful creature, but should say to him that there is no man of that kind among us in our city, nor is it lawful for such a man to arise among us, and we should send him away to another city, after pouring myrrh down over his head and crowning him with fillets of wool . . ."

THE FIFTY THIRD DISCOURSE

Furthermore Plato himself in praising Homer's poetry for its charm adores the man exceedingly; indeed without doubt favour without [illegible] of the Muses and Spirit [illegible] impossible for poetry [illegible] and magnificent and [illegible] so to either, for so many years, not merely men who have the same tongue and language as the poet but even many of [illegible] only men who speak two languages and are of mixed race though unacquainted with much else that is Greek are very familiar with Homer's verses, but even some who live far away. For example, it is said that Homer's poetry is sung even in India, where they have [illegible] speech and tongue. The result is that when the poet of Ilion has no chance to be said many of the stars in our part of the world for example, it is said that the Bears are not [illegible] in their country [illegible] they are not unacquainted with the sufferings of Ilion, the [illegible] and wanings of Andromache and Hecuba and the [illegible] with Achilles and Hector. So remarkable has been the spell of one man's poetry. It [illegible] that to this power of his he has surpassed both the Sirens and Orpheus. For an [illegible]

[illegible] Though [illegible] Homer in other passages [illegible] for [illegible]

[illegible] stages of [illegible] Plato's Republic [illegible] Plato [illegible] poetry [illegible] said, "Though a certain awe and reverence for Homer that he prevented me from a long period stay me from speaking" (Republic

* [illegible] have reverts to the doctrine of Democritus [illegible]

φυτὰ καὶ θηρία κηλεῖν καὶ ἄγειν τί ἐστιν ἕτερον ἢ τὸ βαρβάρους ἀνθρώπους ἀσυνέτους τῆς Ἑλληνικῆς φωνῆς οὕτως ἄγειν χειρωσασθαι, μήτε τῆς γλωττης μήτε τῶν πραγμάτων ἔμπειρους ὄντας ὑπὲρ ὧν ὁ λόγος, ἀλλὰ ἀτεχνῶς καθάπερ, οἶμαι, πρὸς κιθάραν κηλουμένους. ἡγοῦμαι δὲ ἔγωγε πολλοὺς καὶ τῶν ἀμαθεστέρων ἔτι βαρβάρων τὸ γε ὄνομα ἀκηκοέναι τὸ Ὁμήρου, ὅ τι δὲ δηλοῖ, τοῦτο μὴ εἰδέναι σαφῶς, εἴτε ζῷον εἴτε φυτὸν εἴτε πρᾶγμα ἕτερον.[1]

9 Οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ καὶ τὸν βίον ἐπαινέσαι τις ἂν τοῦ ἀνδρὸς πολὺ μᾶλλον τῆς ποιήσεως· τὸ γὰρ ἐν πένιᾳ διαγενέσθαι καὶ ἀλώμενον καὶ τοσοῦτον ἀπὸ τῶν ποιημάτων πορίζοντα ὅσον ἀπολῆν θαυμαστὴν ἀνδρείας καὶ μεγαλοφροσύνης ἔτι δὲ τὸ μηδαμοῦ γεγραφέναι τὸ αὐτοῦ· ὄνομα ἀλλὰ μηδὲ ἐν τῇ ποιήσει αὐτοῦ μνησθῆναι, καίτοι τῶν ἄλλων ἁπάντων, ὁπόσοι τινὰ ἔδοξαν ἔχειν δύναμιν ἢ περὶ ποίησιν ἢ καταλογάδην συγγράφοντες, καὶ πρῶτον καὶ τελευταῖον τὸ ἑαυτῶν ὄνομα γράφοντων,[2] πολλῶν δὲ καὶ ἐν αὐτοῖς τοῖς λόγοις τε καὶ ποιήμασιν, ὥσπερ Ἑκαταῖός τε καὶ Ἡρόδοτος καὶ Θουκυδί-
10 δης, οὗτος μὲν οὖν οὐχ ἅπαξ μόνον ἐν ἀρχῇ τῆς

[1] εἴτε φυτὸν εἴτε πρᾶγμα ἕτερον Emperius: εἴτε πρᾶγμα ἕτερον εἴτε φυτόν.
[2] τοῦ δὲ Emperius: τινὸς. [3] αὐτοῦ Emperius: αὐτοῦ.
[4] ποιήσει αὐτοῦ Emperius: αὐτοῦ or αὐτοῦ ποιήσει.
[5] γράφων ... Emperius: συγγράφοντων.
[6] οὖν deleted by Arnim.

[1] Dio may well have in mind his own experiences as a wanderer during his exile: cf. also Or. 47. 5, where he says [illegible] was given presents by Israelites [illegible].
[2] Dio might have pointed to the fact that Hesiod, who used

what respect is it a greater feat to cast a spell upon [illegible] and trees and wild beasts and to make them [illegible] that I have mastered or composed a man of alien race who does not understand the Hellenic speech, men who have no [illegible] with neither the poet [illegible] nor the [illegible] of which he [illegible] to be, but are [illegible] simply enchanted by a [illegible] Moreover, I [illegible] many barbarians who are still more ignorant [illegible] tribes of India have heard the name of Homer [illegible] though they have no [illegible] notion what [illegible] whether [illegible] or [illegible] or something [illegible]

[illegible] Homer [illegible] much more [illegible] [illegible] having lived in poverty [illegible] from his poetry [illegible] enough to [illegible] of [illegible] and poverty of [illegible] and [illegible] his name anywhere [illegible] [illegible] Homer everywhere in his poetry [illegible] with [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] at the beginning and at the end [illegible] the body of their work [illegible] [illegible] Homer and [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] not merely once at the beginning

the same name as Homer and was regarded by some of the [illegible] [illegible] his home and family. See also p. 381, n. 4.

[illegible] of Mimnermus who flourished about the end of the sixth century B.C. was a poet in the land of [illegible] [illegible] statement, however, is [illegible] by frag. 132 (Mimn., p. [illegible]). Herodotus of Miletus thus speaks

ιστορίας, ἀλλὰ πολλάκις διαμαρτυρόμενος καθ' ἕκαστον χειμῶνα καὶ θέρος ὅτι ταῦτα ξυνεγράφε Θουκυδίδης· ὁ δὲ οὕτως ἄρα ἐλευθέριος[1] ἦν καὶ μεγαλόφρων ὥστε οὐδαμοῦ φανήσεται τῆς ποιήσεως αὐτοῦ μεμνημένος, ἀλλὰ τῷ ὄντι ὥσπερ οἱ προφῆται τῶν θεῶν ἐξ ἀφανοῦς καὶ ἀδύτου πόθεν φθεγγόμενος.

11 Ὅτι δὲ καὶ ὠφέλιμα πάντα καὶ χρήσιμα ἔγραφε, τὰ μὲν ἄλλα εἰ διέλοιτο τις, πολὺ ἂν ἔργον εἴη, ὅσα πεποίηκε περὶ ἀρετῆς καὶ κακίας· περὶ δὲ τῶν βασιλέων ἐν βραχεῖ ῥητέον[2]· οἶμαι φησὶ δεῖν εἶναι ὃν γὰρ ἂν ἐπαινῇ τῶν βασιλέων, Δίι μὲν ἀτάλαντον φησὶν εἶναι καὶ διοτρεφὲς ἅπαντας τοὺς ἀγαθοὺς βασιλεῖς καὶ τὸν Μίνω, μεγίστην ἐπὶ δικαιοσύνῃ δόξαν ἔχοντα παρὰ τοῖς Ἕλλησι, τοῦ Διὸς ὁμιλητήν τε καὶ μαθητὴν εἶναι φησιν, ὡς πρώτου δὴ καὶ μεγίστου ἁπάντων ἐκεῖνον βασιλέα καὶ μόνον αὐτὸν ἐπιστάμενον καὶ παραδιδόντα τὴν βασιλικὴν τέχνην, καὶ τοὺς ἀγαθοὺς βασιλεῖς δεῖν πρὸς ἐκεῖνον βλέποντας κατευθύνειν τὴν ἀρχήν, ἀφομοιοῦντας, ὡς δυνατὸν ἐστιν ἀνθρώποις, θεῷ

12 τὸν αὐτῶν τρόπον· τὸ δὲ τοῦ Διὸς ἦθος καὶ τὴν βασιλείαν ὁποία τις ἦν,[3] ἐν πολλοῖς μὲν ἄλλοις ποιεῖ φανερόν, ὡς δ' ἐν βραχεῖ περιλαβοῦσα εἰπεῖν τὴν δύναμιν αὐτοῦ καὶ τὴν διάνοιαν δηλοῖ πολλάκις, καὶ ποτὲ αὐτὸν οὕτως ὀνομάζων, πατὴρ ἀνδρῶν τε θεῶν τε· ὡς δεῖν τὴν τῶν βασιλέων

[1] ἐλευθέριος Herklein: ἐλεύθερος
[2] ῥητέον [illegible] Post, [illegible] Naeke.
[3] ἦν] εἴη Sonny, ἐστὶ Cobet.

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[1] The work of Thucydides was organized by winters

of his history but many times in connexion with each writer and speaker.[1] Thucydides composed this. Homer, on the contrary, was so liberal and magnanimous that nowhere his poetry will be be found to refer to himself, but in fact like the prophets of the gods he speaks as it were from the invisible, from somewhere in the utmost sanctuary.[2]

Age [illegible] Homer wrote is both heroic and practically [illegible] if one were to review so be has said of [illegible] of virtue and vice, it would be a vast undertaking. However, on the subject of kings a brief statement may be made as to what he says they should be like. Wherever, for instance, he [illegible] any king, he calls him the peer of *Zeus* in wisdom [illegible] and as the good kings are *Zeus*-nurtured [illegible] and Minos who was the highest reputation among the Greeks for justice he says is both the associate and pupil of *Zeus*, his idea being that Minos was the first and greatest king of all, and the only one who had understood and handed down the art of kingship, and also that good kings should shape their course with an eye to Minos, patterning their own conduct after a god, as far as human is possible. Moreover, the poet makes manifest the character of *Zeus* and the nature of his kingship in a multitude of ways, but to put it briefly and succinctly, he frequently indicates his power and disposition by the constant epithet, father of gods and of men, the notion being that the care exercised

and initiators, the former being the source for active warfare.

[1] Cf. Or. 36, 34.

[2] Odyssey, [illegible] 178-179. Δῶρα τε Μινὼς δοῦναι βασιλεῖ ἀνδρὶ ἑταῖρος. Cf. Or. 4, 30-40.

ἐπιμέλειαν πατρικὴν καὶ κηδεμονικὴν εἶναι μετ' εὐνοίας καὶ φιλίας καὶ μηδέποτε ἄλλως προσῆκον ἀνθρώπων προΐστασθαί τε καὶ ἄρχειν ἢ ἀγαπῶντα καὶ προνοοῦντα, ὁπότε ὁ Ζεὺς οὐχ ὑπερορᾷ πατὴρ ἀνθρώπων καλεῖσθαι

by kings should be that of a solicitous father, accompanied by kindness and affection, and that he should never lead and govern men in any other way than with love and protective care, since Zeus does not disdain being called men's father.

THE FIFTY-FOURTH DISCOURSE: ON SOCRATES

This little talk on Socrates is presumably a prelude to some longer discussion. It affords no clue as to either the occasion or the time when it was delivered, but [illegible] of the sophists, who occupy the first half of the piece, and the affectionate regard for Socrates point clearly to some date subsequent to Dio's exile.

Hippias of Elis, Gorgias of Leontini, Polus, and Prodicus are all famous figures among the sophists who in one sense or another became known [illegible] of the older [illegible]. All make their appearance in the pages of Plato. Hippias and Gorgias [illegible] three of his dialogues. One might wonder why the list of [illegible] [illegible] which are [illegible] rest upon [illegible] with Democritus, the famous philosopher, and Protagoras, no less famous as a sophist. [illegible] were [illegible] we infer that it is no matter [illegible] for what he has to say [illegible] best [illegible] he would naturally take his place beside the four sophists already named. Like them, he figures prominently in Plato's dialogues, and one of them bears his name.

54. ΠΕΡΙ ΣΩΚΡΑΤΟΥΣ

1 Ἱππίας ὁ Ἠλεῖος καὶ Γοργίας ὁ Λεοντῖνος καὶ Πῶλος καὶ Πρόδικος οἱ σοφισταὶ χρόνον τινὰ ἦνθησαν ἐν τῇ Ἑλλάδι καὶ θαυμαστῆς ἐτύγχανον φήμης, οὐ μόνον ἐν ταῖς ἄλλαις πόλεσιν, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐν τῇ Σπάρτῃ καὶ παρ' Ἀθηναίοις, καὶ χρήματα πολλὰ συνελέξαν, δημοσίᾳ τε παρὰ τῶν πόλεων καὶ παρὰ δυναστῶν τινων καὶ βασιλέων καὶ ἰδιωτῶν, ὡς ἕκαστος ἔχοι δυνάμεως· ἔλεγον δὲ πολλοὺς μὲν λόγους, νοῦν δὲ οὐκ ἔχοντας οὐδὲ βραχύν· ἀφ' ὧν ἔστιν, οἶμαι, χρήματα ποριζειν καὶ ἀνθρώπους
2 ἡλιθίους ἀρέσκειν· ἄλλος δέ τις ἀνὴρ Ἀβδηριτης οὐχ ὅπως ἀργύριον παρ' ἑτέρων ἐλαμβανεν, ἀλλὰ καὶ διεφθειρε τὴν οὐσαν τὴν αὐτοῦ συχνὴν οὖσαν καὶ ἀπωλεσε φιλοσοφῶν, ἀναισθητως δῆλον ὅτι, καὶ ζητῶν ὧν[3] οὐδὲν ὄφελος αὐτῷ.

[1] πόλεων Reiske: πολιτῶν.
[2] ὧν added by Reiske.

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[1] Sparta and Athens are no doubt given special mention because they were the leading states of that day. It is, however, surprising to hear that Sparta was hospitable toward the sophists, for they were a source of influence and Sparta was noted for its suspicion of outsiders in general.

[2] Tradition has [illegible] to say regarding their love of wealth and their success in attaining it.

[3] Their ability to make the worse appear the better

THE FIFTY-FOURTH DISCOURSE ON SOCRATES

THE sophists, Hippias of Elis and Gorgias of Leontini and Polus and Prodicus flourished in Greece for some time and with marvelous success not alone in the cities at large but even in Sparta and Athens,[1] and they amassed much wealth, each according to his ability both by private gifts from the several states and also from certain princes and kings and men in private life.[2] But though they made many speeches their speeches were devoid of sense, even the slightest, the kind of speech from which no doubt, it is possible to make money and to please simpletons.[3] But there was another, a native of Alaeza, who, far from acquiring money from others, not only was steadily ruining his own estate, which was a large one, but finally lost it by pursuing philosophy, foolishly it is plain to see, and seeking after what was of no material advantage to him.[4]

[illegible] was notorious. It was effectively satirized by Aristophanes in the *Clouds*.

[3] Dio must have had in mind Plato's *Hippias Major* 281 a—[illegible] However, his memory of the passage is faulty. For what he [illegible] about the philosopher Anaxagoras and he [illegible] Hippias as having made from sophistic more money than any other craftsman whatsoever.

3 Ἦν δὲ καὶ Σωκράτης Ἀθήνησι πένης ἀνὴρ καὶ δημοτικός, οὐδὲ οὗτος ὑπὸ τῆς πενίας ἀναγκαζόμενος οὐθὲν λαμβάνειν καίτοι γυναῖκα εἶχεν οὐ μισοῦσαν ἀργύριον καὶ παῖδας δεομένους διατροφῆς καὶ τῶν νέων λέγεται τοῖς πλουσιωτάτοις συνεῖναι, ὧν φασιν ἐνίους μηδενὸς ἁπλῶς φείδεσθαι πρὸς αὐτόν· ἦν δὲ τἄλλα τῷ τρόπῳ κοινὸς καὶ φιλάνθρωπος, καὶ παρεῖχεν αὐτὸν τοῖς βουλομένοις προσιέναι[1] καὶ διαλέγεσθαι, περί τε τὴν ἀγορὰν τὰ πολλὰ διατρίβων καὶ εἰς τὰς παλαιστρας εἰσιὼν καὶ πρὸς ταῖς τραπέζαις καθεζόμενος—ὥσπερ οἱ τὰ ὤνια τὰ φαῦλα δεικνύντες ἐν τῇ ἀγορᾷ καὶ περιφέροντες ἐπὶ τὰς θύρας—εἴ τις ἄρα ἐθέλησει πυθέσθαι τι καὶ ἀκούσαι τῶν νεωτέρων ἢ τῶν πρεσβυτέρων· οἱ μὲν οὖν πολλοὶ τῶν δυνατῶν καὶ ῥητόρων προσεποιοῦντο μηδὲ ὁρᾶν αὐτόν, ὁ δὲ προσελθών, ὥσπερ οἱ προσπταίσαντες, ἀλγήσας ταχὺ ἀπηλλάττετο.

4 Ἀλλὰ δὴ τῶν μὲν θαυμαζομένων ἐκείνων σοφιστῶν ἐκλελοίπασιν οἱ λόγοι καὶ οὐδὲν ἢ τὰ ὀνόματα μόνον ἔστιν· οἱ δὲ τοῦ Σωκράτους, οὐκ οἶδ' ὅπως, διαμένουσι καὶ διαμενοῦσι τὸν ἅπαντα χρόνον, τούτου μὲν αὐτοῦ[2] γράψαντος ἢ καταλιπόντος οὔτε σύγγραμμα οὔτε διαθήκας. ἐτελευτᾶ γὰρ ὁ

[1] προσιέναι Pflugk: προσεῖναι.
[2] τούτου μὲν αὐτοῦ with PHU, τοῦ δ' αὐτοῦ Geel, τούτου δὲ BM.

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[1] *Cf. Crito* 44 B—45 B. Critias and Alcibiades also were among the wealthy adherents of Socrates.
[2] Athletic schools.
[3] There is no reason to doubt the sincerity of this state-

THE FIFTY FOURTH DISCOURSE

And there was also Socrates, a poor man at Athens and a man of the people, who also was not driven by his poverty to accept anything, and yet he had a wife who had no hatred for money, and also sons who required support, and because he is said to have associated with the wealthy among the young men, some of whom are expected to have begrudged him literally nothing! However he was in general sociable in his manners, and a lover of his kind, and in particular he made himself accessible to all who wished to approach and converse with him, not only spending his time for the most part about the market-place, but visiting the palaestrae, and sitting down near the seats of the money changers, just as the people who lay at the petty wares in the market or peddle them from door to door, so that the chance that some one, whether young or old, might wish to ask some question and hear his answer. Now then, most of the influential persons and professional speakers pretended not even to see him, but whoever of that description did approach him, like those who have struck something with their foot, got hurt and speedily departed.

However, while the words of these sophists, who won such admiration, have perished and nothing remains but their names, some of the words of Socrates, for some strange reason, survive and will survive for a time, though he himself did not write or leave behind him either a treatise or a will. In fact,

[illegible] but though surprisingly little of the work of the sophists is extant to-day, we have a few [illegible] fragments [illegible] of Van Lee, [illegible] fragment [illegible] and a [illegible] preserved in the Hippocratic corpus, but attributed to Protagoras by Cooper[illegible]

ἀνὴρ ἀδιάθετος τήν τε σοφίαν καὶ τὰ χρήματα. ἀλλὰ οὐσίαν μὲν οὐκ εἶχεν, ὥστε δημευθῆναι—καθάπερ εἴωθε γίγνεσθαι ἐπι[1] τῶν καταδικασθέντων—οἱ λογοι δὲ τῷ ὄντι ἐδημεύθησαν, μὰ Δί' οὐχ ὑπ' ἐχθρῶν, ἀλλὰ ὑπὸ τῶν φίλων· οὐδὲν μέντοι ἧττον καὶ νῦν φανερῶν τε ὄντων καὶ τιμωμένων ὀλίγοι ξυνιᾶσι καὶ μετέχουσιν.

[1] ἐπὶ added by Reiske.

Socrates died intestate as to both his wisdom and his estate. Yet though he had no estate that could be made public property through confiscation—as is ceremonty done in the case of men who have been condemned as criminals—his words in reality have been made public property, not by foes, God knows, but by his friends; nevertheless, though they are even now not only accessible for all but also held in high esteem, few understand them and partake of their wisdom.

THE FIFTY-FIFTH DISCOURSE
ON HOMER AND SOCRATES

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

wealth, their interest in ethical problems, their use of parables or stories as vehicles of instruction, and their method of employing specific human beings to illustrate virtues and vices. To this last-named point Dio devotes fully a third of his dialogue. His arguments seem to have silenced his pupil, for there is no rejoinder.

55 ΠΕΡΙ ΟΜΗΡΟΥ ΚΑΙ ΣΩΚΡΑΤΟΥΣ

1 Ἐπεὶ φαίη καὶ τάλλα Σωκράτους ὢν ἀκουστὴς καὶ τὸν ἄνδρα ἐκπεπτωκότος ἐν τοῖς λόγοις, ἔχοις μοι εἰπεῖν ὅτου μαθητὴς γέγονε τῶν σοφῶν ὥσπερ Φειδίας μὲν ὁ ἀγαλματοποιὸς Ἴκκου Πολύκλειτος δὲ ὁ ζωγράφος καὶ ὁ ἀδελφὸς ἀμφὼ τοῦ πατρὸς Ἀνδροφάνους Πυθαγόρου δὲ Φερεκύδης λέγεται διδάσκαλος γενέσθαι, Πυθαγόρας δὲ Ἐμπεδοκλέους καὶ ἑτέρων καὶ τῶν ἄλλων δὲ τῶν πλείστων ἔχομεν εἰπεῖν τοὺς διδασκάλους τῶν ἐκείνου ἀνδρῶν, ὅτῳ ἕκαστος συγγενόμενος λόγου ἀξιοῦ ἐγένετο, πλὴν γε Ἡρακλείτου τοῦ Ἐφεσίου καὶ Ἡσιόδου τοῦ Ἀσκραίου· ὁ μὲν γὰρ φησιν ἐπιμαθεῖν ἐν τῇ Ἑλικῶνι παρὰ τῶν Μουσῶν λυρῳδὸν ἀνθρώπῳ ὄζῳ τὴν ποίησιν, ἵνα μὴ πρόσωπα ἔχωμεν
2 ζητοῦντες αὐτοῦ τὸν διδάσκαλον· Ἡρακλείτος δὲ ἔτι γενναιότερον αὐτὸς ἐξευρεῖν τὴν τοῦ παντὸς φύσιν ὅπῃ τυγχάνει οὖσα, μηδένος διδαξάντος,

Ἴκκου] Μίκκου *Sauppe* or ἴκκου.
[illegible] *Diehl*
ἀφῶν *Reiske* ἑξῆς or ἑξεῖς.

[1] Pausanias [illegible] associates Hegias with Agelades, the [illegible]
[2] [illegible] *Hermes* 448 n.
[3] [illegible] Hesiod's such that he might have [illegible] Pythagoras. However, the ancients were fond of setting up such [illegible]

THE FIFTY-FIFTH DISCOURSE: ON HOMER AND SOCRATES

Interlocutor. Since you make it evident that on general grounds you are an admirer of Socrates and also that you are filled with wonder at the man as revealed in his words, you can tell me of which among the sages he was a pupil—just as for example, Phoebias the sculptor was a pupil of Hegias and Polygnotus the painter and his brothers were both pupils of their father Aglaophon, and Pherecydes is said to have been a teacher of Pythagoras and Pythagoras in turn a teacher of Empedocles and so forth. And indeed we are able to name the teachers of most other famous men—and to trace through association with whom each became noteworthy—with the exception of Heraclitus of Ephesus and Hesiod of Ascra. Lest to spare us the trouble of seeking for his teacher, Hesiod says he received his poetic gift from the Muses in a branch of laurel as he was tending his flocks on Helicon,[1] while Heraclitus with even more grandiosity says that he himself discovered what the nature of the universe really is without anybody's

[1] Cf. *Theogony* 22–35. Hesiod is the first Greek writer to [illegible] *Works and Days* 640. *Among sheep and flocks, wild and tame, feeding.*

καὶ γενέσθαι παρ' αὐτοῦ σοφός. Ὁμήρου μὲν γάρ, ὥσπερ τὰ ἄλλα τὰ περὶ αὐτόν, καὶ τοῦτο ἄδηλον τοῖς Ἕλλησιν· ὁ δὲ Σωκράτης ὅτι μὲν παῖς ὢν ἐμάνθανε[1] τὴν τοῦ πατρὸς τέχνην ἀκηκόαμεν· τὸν δὲ τῆς σοφίας αὐτοῖ διδάσκαλον οὕτως ὠφέλιμον καὶ καλῆς γενομένης σὺ ἡμῖν σαφῶς εἰπὲ καὶ μὴ φθονήσῃς.

2 Δ. Ἀλλὰ τοῦτό γε οἶμαι πολλοῖς εἶναι σοφές, ὅστις ἔμπειρος ἀμφοῖν τοῖν ἀνδροῖν, ὅτι Σωκράτης τό γε ἀληθὲς Ὁμήρου μαθητὴς γέγονεν, οὐχ ὥσπερ ἔνιοι φασιν Ἀρχελάου.

Καὶ πῶς οἷόν τε τὸν μήτε ξυγγενόμενον Ὁμήρῳ μήτε ἰδόντα πώποτε, ἀλλὰ τοσούτοις ἔτεσιν ὕστερον γενομένον Ὁμήρου φάναι μαθητήν;

Δ. Τί δέ, ὅστις καθ' Ὅμηρον ἐγένετο, μηδὲν δὲ ἤκουσε τῶν Ὁμήρου ἐπῶν ἢ ἀκούων μηδενὶ προσεσχε τὸν νοῦν, ἔσθ' ὅπως φήσομεν ἐκεῖνον Ὁμήρου μαθητήν;

Οὐδαμῶς.

4 Δ. Οὔκοιν ἄτοπον τὸν μήτε ξυγγενόμενον μήτε ἰδόντα, τῆς δὲ ποιήσεως ξυνέντα τῆς Ὁμήρου καὶ τῆς ἄλης διανοίας ἔμπειρον γενόμενον μαθητὴν Ὁμήρου λέγεσθαι ἢ οὐδὲ ζηλωτὴν οὐδενὰ οὐδενὸς φήσεις τῶν μὴ συγγενομένων;

Οὐκ[2] ἔγωγε.

Δ. Εἴπερ οὖν ζηλωτής, καὶ μαθητὴς εἴη ἄν. ὁ

[1] After ἐμάνθανε Davis deletes λιθοξόος.
[2] Οὐκ added by Warmington.

[1] Fire had figured to some extent in the doctrine of earlier Milesian philosophers, but the importance which Heracleitus attached to it in a way justifies his proud boast.

[2] His father Sophroniscus was a carver of statues. Accord-

teaching him, and that he became wise by his own efforts.[1] As for Homer, this point, like everything else connected with him, is obscure to the Greeks. But while we have heard that Socrates as a boy studied the calling of his father,[1] be so good as to tell us clearly who was his teacher in the wisdom which has proved so helpful and noble.

Dio. Why, this is plain, I imagine, to many people, provided they are familiar with both men, namely, that Socrates is in truth a pupil of Homer, and not of Archelaüs, as some say.[2]

Int. And how can it possibly be said that the man who neither met Homer nor ever saw him, but lived so many years later, was a pupil of Homer?

Dio. What of it? Supposing a man lived in Homer's day but had heard none of the poetry of Homer, or, if he had heard, had given none of it his attention, shall we be able to say he was a pupil of Homer?

Int. By no means.

Dio. Then it is not absurd that the man who neither met nor saw Homer and yet understood his poetry and became familiar with all his thought should be called a pupil of Homer, or will you go so far as to maintain that no one can be a zealous follower of anyone with whom he has never been associated?

Int. Not I.

Dio. Then, if a follower, he would also be a pupil.

ing to tradition a group of the Graces carved by Socrates stood near the entrance to the Acropolis.

[2] Diogenes Laertius (2. 16) reports that Archelaüs was a pupil of Anaxagoras and a teacher of Socrates. His tenet that ethical standards are due not to Nature, but to convention is certainly diametrically opposed to the philosophy of Socrates.

γὰρ ζηλῶν τινα ὀρθῶς ἐπίσταται δήπου ἐκεῖνον ὁποῖος ἦν καὶ μιμούμενος τὰ ἔργα καὶ τοὺς λόγους ὡς οἷόν τε ἐπιχειρεῖ ὅμοιον αὐτὸν ἀποφαίνειν

5 ταῦτα δὲ τοῦτο καὶ ὁ μαθητὴς ποιεῖν ἔοικε μιμούμενος τὸν διδάσκαλον καὶ προσέχων ἀναλαμβάνει τὴν τέχνην. τὸ δὲ ὁρᾶν καὶ ξυνιέναι οὐδέν ἐστι πρὸς τὸ μανθάνειν· πολλοὶ γὰρ καὶ ὁρῶσι τοὺς αὐλητὰς καὶ ξυνιᾶσι καὶ ἀκούουσιν ὁσημέραι, καὶ οὐδ' ἂν ἐμφυσῆσαι τοῖς αὐλοῖς δύναιντο, οἳ ἂν μὴ ἐπὶ τέχνῃ μηδὲ προσέχοντες ξυνῶσιν· ἀλλ' εἴ γε δυνατὴ μαθητὴν Ὁμήρου τὸν Σωκράτην καλεῖν, ζηλωτὴν δὲ μόνον, οὐδέν μοι δοκεῖ.

6 Ἐμοὶ μὲν οὐχ ἧττον παράδοξον τοῦτο ἐκείνου δοκεῖ· Ὅμηρος μὲν γὰρ ποιητὴς γεγονεν οἷος οὐδεὶς ἄλλος· Σωκράτης δὲ φιλόσοφος.

▲ Εἶεν· οὕτως μὲν οὐδὲ Ἀρχίλοχον εἴποις ἂν Ὁμήρου ζηλωτήν, ὅτι μὴ τῷ αὐτῷ μέτρῳ κέχρηται εἰς ἅπαν τὴν ποίησιν, ἀλλ' ἑτέρους τὸ πλέον· οὐδὲ Στησίχορον, ὅτι ἐκεῖνος μὲν ἔπη ἔποιει, Στησίχορος δὲ μελοποιὸς ἦν.

7 Ναί· τοῦτο γε ἅπαντές φασιν οἱ Ἕλληνες, Στησίχορον Ὁμήρου ζηλωτὴν γενέσθαι καὶ σφόδρα γε ἐοικέναι κατὰ τὴν ποίησιν. Σωκράτης δὲ κατά τί σοι δοκεῖ Ὁμήρῳ ἐοικέναι;

▲ Τὸ μὲν πρῶτον καὶ μέγιστον κατὰ τὸ ἦθος· οὐδέτερος γὰρ αὐτοῦ ἀλαζὼν ἦν οὐδὲ ἀναιδής,

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[1] The anonymous treatise *de Sublimitate* (13. 3), calls both Stesichorus and Archilochus "most Homeric," and Simonides (frag. 61) says that Homer and Stesichorus "sang to the peoples." Archilochus, the reputed inventor of Iambic

For whoever really follows any one surely knows what that person was [illegible] and by imitating his acts and words he tries as best he can to make himself like him. But that is precisely, it seems, what the pupil does, by imitating his teacher and paying heed to him he tries to acquire his art. On the other hand, seeing people and associating with them has nothing to do with the process of learning. For instance, many persons not only see pipers but associate with and hear them every day, and yet they could not even look on the pipers unless they associate with the pipers for professional purposes and pay strict heed. However, if you should refrain from calling Socrates a pupil of Homer but would prefer to call him just a follower, it will make no difference to me.

Ist. Why, to my way of thinking, the one seems no less surprising than the other. For Homer has proved to be a poet without a peer, whereas Socrates is a philosopher.

Dio. Very well, on that principle you would not call even Archilochus a follower of Homer, because he has not used the same metre as Homer's for his poetry but has used other metres for the most part, nor would you call Stesichorus his follower either, because, while Homer composed epic poetry, Stesichorus was a lyric poet.

Ist. Yes I would, all the Greeks agree on this, that Stesichorus was a follower of Homer and indeed is very like him in his poetic art. But wherein does Socrates seem to you to resemble Homer?

Dio. First and foremost, he resembles him in his character, for neither of the two was boastful or

verse, used a variety of metres, his nearest approach to the verse of Homer being the elegiac distich.

ὥσπερ οἱ ἀμαθέστατοι τῶν σοφιστῶν. Ὅμηρος μὲν γὰρ οὐδὲ ὁπόθεν ἦν εἰπεῖν ἠξίωσεν οὐδὲ ὧντινων γονέων οὐδὲ ὅστις αὐτὸς ἐκαλεῖτο· ἀλλὰ ὅσον ἐπ' ἐκείνῳ καὶ τὸ ὄνομα ἠγνοοῦμεν ἂν τοῦ γραψαντος τὴν Ἰλιάδα καὶ τὴν Ὀδυσσείαν. Σωκράτης δὲ τὴν μὲν πατρίδα οὐχ οἷός τ' ἦν ἀποκρυψασθαι διὰ τὸ μέγεθος καὶ τὸ σφόδρα ἐνδόξους εἶναι τὰς Ἀθήνας καὶ τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἄρχειν κατ' ἐκεῖνον τὸν χρόνον· οὐδὲν δὲ πώποτε εἶπεν ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ μέγα οὐδὲ προσεποιεῖτο σοφίαν οὐδεμίαν, καίτοι τοῦ Ἀπόλλωνος χρησαντος ὡς εἴη σοφώτατος Ἑλλήνων καὶ βαρβάρων· τελευταῖον δὲ οὐδὲ τοὺς λόγους αὐτὸς[1] κατέλιπε γράψας, καὶ ταύτῃ γε ὑπερέβαλε τὸν Ὅμηρον· ὥσπερ γὰρ τὸ ὄνομα τὸ ἐκείνου παρ' ἑτέρων ἀκούοντες ἴσμεν, οὕτω καὶ τοὺς λόγους τοὺς Σωκράτους ἄλλων καταλιπόντων· οὕτως ἄγαν κεκαλασμένως ἦστην καὶ ἐσωφρονείτην ἄμφω τὼ ἄνδρε.

Ἔπειτα ὑπερεῖδον κτήσεως χρημάτων ὁμοίως Σωκράτης τε καὶ Ὅμηρος· πρὸς δὲ τούτοις ὑπὲρ τῶν αὐτῶν ἐσπουδάζετην καὶ ἐλεγέτην, ὁ μὲν διὰ τῆς ποιήσεως, ὁ δὲ καταλογάδην περὶ ἀρετῆς ἀνθρώπων καὶ κακίας καὶ περὶ[2] ἁμαρτημάτων καὶ κατορθωμάτων καὶ περὶ ἀληθείας καὶ ἀπάτης καὶ ὅπως δοξάζουσιν οἱ πολλοὶ καὶ ὅπως ἐπίστανται οἱ φρόνιμοι.

Καὶ μὴν εἰκάσαι καὶ παραβαλεῖν ἱκανώτατοι ἦσαν.

Τοῦτο μὲν θαυμαστόν, εἰ ταῖς Ὁμήρου παραβολαῖς πυρὸς καὶ ἀνέμων καὶ θαλάττης καὶ δετῶν

[1] αὐτὸς Arnim : αὐτοῦ or αὐτοῦ.
[2] κακίας καὶ περὶ Arnim : περὶ κακίας καὶ.

heaven, as the most ignorant of the sophists are. For instance, Homer did not even deign to tell where he came, or who were his parents, or what he himself was called. On the contrary, so far as he was concerned we should not even know the name of the man who wrote the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey*. As for Socrates, while he could not make a number of his actions and because of his greatness and heroism. Socrates was exceedingly famous and admired by Greeks at that period, while he never made a boastful boast, for an claim to any wisdom, and yet Apollo had uttered the oracle that he was wisest among all Greeks and other men. And finally, Socrates did not even put his words into writing and, when he died, he left them to posterity, and in this he outdid Homer. For just as we know the name of Homer by hearing it from others, so too we know the words of Socrates because others have left them to us.[1] Thus both were exceedingly self-restrained and modest.

Again, both Socrates and Homer alike despised the possession of wealth. Besides, they both were devoted to the same ends and spoke about the same things, the one through the medium of his verse, the other in prose—human virtue and vice, actions wrong and actions right, truth and deceit, and how the masses have only opinions, while the wise have true knowledge.

Furthermore, they were most effective at making analogies and comparisons.

Ist. This is indeed surprising. If with Homer's comparisons of fire and winds and sea and eagles and

[1] Cf. Plato, *Apology* 41 a *δοκῶν οὖν ἐγὼ ἀνὴρ σοφὸς εἶναι ὅτῳ μὲν οὖν ἐγὼ τοῦτο φαίνομαι.*

[2] Cf. Or. 54. 4.

καὶ ταύρων καὶ λεόντων καὶ τῶν ἄλλων οἷς ἐκόσμησεν τὴν σκηνὴν Ὅμηρος, σὺ παραβάλειν ἐξιώσεις τοὺς Σωκράτους κεραμέας καὶ τοὺς[1] σκυτοτόμους;

10 ἃ Ἕκτορ γε, ὦ μακάριε, καὶ τὴν Ἀρχιλόχου ἀλώπεκα τοῖς λέουσι καὶ τοῖς παρδάλεσι παραβάλλομεν καὶ οὐδὲν ἢ μὴ πολὺ ἀποδεῖν φαμεν· ἄλλα γὰρ ἴσως καὶ τῶν Ὁμήρου τὰ τοιαῦτα ἀποδοκιμάζεις, ὅπου μαίνεσθαι φήσεις ἢ κολοῦσαι ἢ δεῖλαιον ἢ δαΐου ἢ τεφρὰς ἢ κνάμψαι τε καὶ ἐρε-

11 ῥιπῶσαι ἢ λιπαίνεσθαι ἀνθρώπους ποιήσειν· ἀλλὰ ταῦτα σοι δοκεῖ τὰ φαυλότατα εἶναι τῶν Ὁμήρου μόνους δὲ θαυμάζεις τοὺς λέοντας καὶ τοὺς ταύρους καὶ τὰς Σκύλλας καὶ τοὺς Κύκλωπας, οἷς δεινοὺς δεῖλοι τοὺς ἀναιδεστάτους, ὥσπερ αἱ τιτθαὶ τὰ παιδία δειγματοῦσιν τοὺς λαμίας· καὶ μὴν ὥσπερ Ὅμηρος ὅσα τε μύθων καὶ ἱστορίας ἐπεχείρησεν τοὺς ἀνθρώπους παιδεῦσαι πάντα ἐργάδεις ἴσως παιδεύθησαν, καὶ Σωκράτης πολλάκις εἰρήνευ τῷ τοιούτῳ· ποτὲ μὲν σπουδάζων ὁμολογῶν, ποτὲ δὲ παίζων προσποιούμενος, τούτου ἕνεκεν ἵν' ἀνθρώπους ὠφέλοι· ἴσως δὲ προσκρούσει τοῖς μαθηταῖς καὶ τοῖς συγγραφεῦσιν.

12 Οὐ τοίνυν οὐδὲ τοὺς περὶ Γοργίαν ἢ Πώλον ἢ Θρασύμαχον ἢ Πρόδικον ἢ Μένωνα ἢ Κλειτοφῶντα ἢ Ἄντιφῶντα ἢ Ἀλκιδάμαντα ἢ Ἀναξιμένη μόνον ἐροῦμεν λέγοντας, ἐξὸν ὠφελεῖν τὰ σώματα· ἀλλὰ ἤδει

[1] τοὺς deleted by Dindorf.
[2] ἃ ἀνθρώπους ὠφελεῖν Arnim: ἀνθρώπους ὠφελεῖ

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[1] Archilochus was famed for his broad fables. Some 388

bulls and lions and so forth, figures with which he adorned his poetry, so shall I see fit to compare the posters and orators of Socrates.

Dio. I think, my dear fellow, since indeed we compare the fox of Archilochus[1] with the lions and leopards of Homer and I am not far out at all or not much astray. Homer, perhaps, would disapprove also of such Homeric expressions as those in which he refers to starings or daws or asses or a turbot or ashes or beans and chickpeas or the one in which he has depicted men winnowing[2]; perhaps these seem to you to be the most offensive portrayals of Homer's work, while you are offended by lions and eagles and Scyllas and Chimaeras, with which he was wont to beguile stupid people, just as nurses beguile children with tales of the Lamia.[3] Indeed, just as Homer through myths and history undertook to instruct human beings who are very troublesome to instruct, so also Socrates often used this sort of device, sometimes admitting that he was in earnest and sometimes pretending to be joking, with the aim of benefiting mankind. Thus doing he perhaps came into conflict with Athenians and Intemperance.[4]

Again, it was not without conscious purpose that he[5] represented Gorgias or Polus or Thrasymachus or Prodicus or Meno or Euthydemus or Anytus or Alcibiades or Laches as speaking, which he might have omitted their names; on the contrary, he

fragments of his poetry are found in Edmonds, Kaibel and Jambos, II, p. 145, L.C.L.

[1] *Ibid.* 103 (Edmonds), 5 500-502.

[2] Lamia was supposed to be a disappointed mother who sought [illegible] children.

[3] Because he [illegible] with their [illegible].

[4] That is, he Lucian, here blends in the Socrates and Plato.

τούτω καὶ μάλιστα ὀνήσειν τοὺς ἀκούοντας, εἰ πως ξυνείεν· ἀπὸ γὰρ τῶν λόγων τοὺς ἀνθρώπους καὶ ἀπὸ τῶν ἀνθρώπων τοὺς λόγους ξυνορᾶν οἰ μᾶλλον ἄλλοις ἢ τοῖς φιλοσόφοις καὶ τοῖς πεπαιδευμένοις· οἱ δὲ πολλοὶ μάτην οἴονται τὰ τοιαῦτα λέγεσθαι καὶ
13 ὄχλον[1] ἄλλων καὶ φλυαρίαν ἡγοῦνται. Σωκράτης δὲ ἐνομίζετο, ὅσακις μὲν ἀλαζόνα ἄνθρωπον διώκαιεν, περὶ ἀλαζονείας λέγειν· ὅποτε δὲ ἰσχνὸν καὶ βδέλυρον, περὶ ἀπιδείας καὶ βδελυρίας· ὅποτε δὲ ἀγνώμονα καὶ ὀργίλον, ἀγνωμοσύνης καὶ ὀργῆς ἀποτρέπειν· καὶ ἐπὶ τῶν ἄλλων ὁμοίως τὰ πάθη καὶ τὰ νοσήματα ἐπ' αὐτῶν τῶν ἀνθρώπων τῶν ἐχομένων τοῖς παθεσιν ἢ τοῖς νοσήμασι σαφέστερον ἐδείκνυεν ὁποιά ἐστιν ἢ εἰ τοὺς λόγους φίλους ἔλεγε.

14 Δοκεῖ δέ μοι καὶ τοῦτο παρ' Ὁμήρου λαβεῖν· καὶ γὰρ ἀνεῶν, ὅταν μὲν διηγῆται περὶ Δολώνος, ὅπως μὲν ἐπεθύμησε τῶν ἵππων τῶν Ἀχιλλέως, ὅπως δὲ τοὺς πολεμίους ἀποφεύγειν δυνάμενος ἔστη τοῦ δόρατος ἐγγὺς παγέντος καὶ οὐδὲν αὐτὸν ὤνησε τὸ τάχος· ὅπως δὲ ἐβιβάσαν ὑπὸ τοῦ δέους καὶ συνέκρουσε τοὺς ὁδόντας, ὅπως δὲ ἔλεγε τοῖς πολεμίοις, οὐ μόνον εἴ τι ἐρωτῶν, ἀλλὰ καὶ ὑπὲρ ὧν μηδεὶς ἐπυνθάνετο· καὶ γὰρ τοὺς ἵππους ἐμήνυσε τοὺς Θρᾳκίους καὶ τὸν Ἠῶσον, ὃν οὐδεὶς ἤδει ἀφιγμένον· ταῦτα δὲ λέγων οὕτω σφοδρὰ ἐναργῶς οὐ περὶ δειλίας ὑμῖν καὶ φιλοδοξίας δοκεῖ διαλέγεσθαι;

[1] ὄχλον] ἄλλον Meiner.

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[1] I.e. the remarks of the non-participants in the dialogue.
[2] The Dolon episode is found in *Iliad* 10 299 ff.

know that by this device most of all he would benefit his hearers. I go perhaps they grasped the point for to comprehend human beings from their words or their words from human beings is not an easy task for any out of sophists and educated people. On the other hand most men suppose that such items are purposeless and they treated them as mere ornaments and nonsense. But Socrates had had every time he in reproaches a beautiful man, he is speaking of beautiful [illegible] every time he [illegible] a shameless [illegible] man, he is speaking of shamelessness and boldness, every time he introduces an unreasonable irascible man, he is turning his hearers against unreason and anger. Moreover [illegible] other cases [illegible] he represents the true nature of the passions and studies of men in the persons of the very ones who were affected by the passions or the maladies more distinctly than if he were using the words by themselves.

But it appears to me that he took the tiro from Homer. For example, when Homer is talk about Diomed how he conducted a assigning for the horses of Aeneas and how, which he might have fled from the enemy, he halted and he came panted close beside him and obtained no benefit from his fleetness and how his teeth chattered and struck together from terror and how he turned to the enemy not only when they asked him a question but even on topics about which no one was inquiring, for instance, he gave information about the Thracian horses and about Rhesus of whose arrival no one knew—by telling all this so very plainly does Homer not seem to you to be discoursing on cowardice and love of notoriety?

15 Ὅταν δὲ περὶ τοῦ Πανδάρου, ὡς συνέχεε τὰς σπονδὰς, ἐλπίσας δῶρα παρὰ Ἀλεξάνδρου τοῦ Πριάμου, καὶ οὔτε ἀπεκτεῖνε τὸν Μενέλαον βαλών, καίτοι τοξότης ἱκανὸς εἶναι δοκῶν, καὶ παραβὰς τὰ ὅρκια τοὺς Τρῶας ἀθυμοτέρους ἐποίησε πρὸς τὸν πόλεμον μεμνημένους ἀεὶ τῆς ἐπιορκίας

νῦν δ' ὅρκια πιστὰ
φυσάμενοι μαχόμεσθα· τῷ οὔ νυ τι κάλλιον ἔστι·[1]

16 καὶ ὃν τρόπον ἀπέθανεν οὐ μετὰ πολὺ τὴν γλῶτταν ἀποτμηθείς, πρὶν ἢ καὶ λόγῳ φῆσαι τὸν Ἀλέξανδρον αὐτῷ χάριν εἰδέναι ταῦτα διεξιὼν οὕτως ἐπιμελῶς ὑπὲρ ἄλλου τοῦ δοκεῖ λέγειν ἢ δωροδοκίας καὶ ἀσεβείας καὶ τὸ ξύμπαν ἀφροσύνης, ὃς καὶ τοῖς βέλεσι κατηρᾶτο καὶ ἠπείλει διακλάσειν αὐτὰ καὶ κατακαύσειν, ὡς φοβουμένων αὐτὸν τῶν βελῶν

17 Ὅταν δὲ περὶ Ἀσίου τοῦ Γρεάκου, ὅτι τοῦ στρατηγοῦ κελευσαντος ἔξω τῆς τάφρου καταλιπεῖν τοὺς ἵππους μόνος οὐχ ὑπήκουσεν,

ἀλλὰ σὺν αὐτοῖσιν πέλασεν νήεσσι θοῇσι
νήπιος· οὐδ' ἄρ' ἔμελλε, κακὰς ὑπὸ κῆρας ἀλύξας,
ἵππουσιν καὶ ὄχεσφιν ἀγαλλόμενος παρὰ νηῶν
ἂψ ἀπονοστήσειν πρὸς Ἴλιον ἡνεμόεσσαν·[2]

18 εἰς τοσαύτην δυσχωρίαν τάφρου τε καὶ τείχους καὶ νεῶν εἰσελαύνων, ὅπου γε μηδὲ τοῖς πεζοῖς συνήνεγκε καταληφθεῖσιν ὑπὸ τῶν ἐναντίων, ἀλλὰ ὀλίγης ἐκβοηθείας γενομένης διεφθάρησαν οἱ πλεί-

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[1] *Iliad* 4. 97-107.
[2] *Ibid.* 5. 290-294.
[3] Polydamas.
[4] *Iliad* 7. 351-352.
[5] *Iliad* 5. 300-16.
[6] *Iliad* 16. 110-115.

And again, when he talk about Pandarus, how he violated the truce in the hope of rewards from Alexander son of Priam, and how he not only failed to slay Menelaus by his shot, although reputed to be an able bowman,[1] but also by violating the truce made the Trojans more discouraged as to the war through their constant recollection of their broken oaths—as witness these lines:

> But now we fight as traitors to our oaths,
> On that account 'tis not so well for us[2]—

and how not much later his tongue was cut off and he died before ever Alexander could even put into words his gratitude to him[3]—in recounting these things with such scrupulous attention to detail—does Homer appear to you to be talking of anything else than of bribe taking and impiety and in general of folly? Why, Pandarus even cursed his arrows and threatened to smash and burn them, as if the arrows were in fear of him![4]

Take another example. When Homer says of Asius son of Hyrtacus that, after his commander[5] had given orders to leave the horses outside the trench, he alone did not obey,

> But with them neared the speedy ships, the fool!
> Nor was he fated, dodging the spirits dire,
> To come again, exulting in team and car,
> Back from the ships to wind-swept Ilium,[6]

driving into such difficult terrain amid trench and wall and ships, where even the men on foot found it not to their advantage when caught by the foe, but most of them were slaughtered when a small rescue party[7]

[7] The "small rescue party" consisted of the two heroes Polypoetes and Leonteus. *Cf. Iliad* 12. 129–136.

ουτ' ἀ δὲ ὑπὸ τῶν ἵππων ἐναιρομένοις καὶ τῷ κάλλει τοῦ δίφρου ἥνετ' μὲν ὑπὲρ τοῦ τείχους ἐλάσαι, ἔτιμῶν δὲ ἦν ἐμβαλεῖν εἰς τὴν θάλατταν[1] ἀπὸ τοῦ ἁρματος μαχεσθαι ἀρ' οὖν οὐ περὶ ἀπιθίας καὶ ἀλαζονείας τοτε λέγει φαίνεται

19 Πάλιν δὲ τοτὲ μὲν παρατιθεὶς Πολυδάμαντα κελεύοντα εὐλαβεῖσθαι καὶ μὴ διαβαίνειν τὴν τάφρον, ἅμα μὲν τὸ πρᾶγμα ἀποδείκνυσι τὸν ἐπιτιμῶντα, ἅμα δὲ τὸν ὑμνον τὸν γενόμενον αὐτοῖς ἄλλως μὲν γὰρ οἰδένα ὤετο ἀνέξεσθαι αὐτοῦ λέγοντος, συν[2] δὲ τῷ θεωνῷ ταχ ἂν πείσαι τὸν Ἕκτορα ἢ τὸν Νέστορα τοὺς περὶ τὸν Ἀγαμέμνονα καὶ τὸν Ἀχιλλέα λοιδορουμένους παυσαντα τῆς ὀργῆς καὶ παρλεγοντα φανερῶς τὰ συμβεβηκοτα αὐτοῖς ἀπὸ τῆς στασεως, ὕστερον δὲ ἐπιπλήττοντα τὸν Ἀγαμέμνονα ὡς ἁμαρτόντι καὶ ἀναγκάζοντα δεῖσθαι τοῦ Ἀχιλλέως ἢ τὸν Ὀδυσσεα ἐπανορθοῦντα τὸ ἁμαρτημα τοῦ Ἀγαμέμνονος, δι' οὗ περαν βουλομενος λαβεῖν τὸν στρατοῦ πῶς φεύγειν τὴν τοῦ πολέμου τριβήν, ὀλίγου φεύγειν αὐτοὺς ἐπιχειρεῖν οὐ περὶ φρονήσεως καὶ στρατηγίας καὶ μαντικῆς, πρὸς δὲ τούτοις καιρου καὶ ἀκαιρίας ἐποιεν ὑπνον θεαθαι

20 Ἐν δὲ τῇ Ὀδυσσείᾳ τὰ μὲν ἄλλ' ἐω, ἑνὸς δὲ μόνου μνησθήσομαι, τοῦ Ἀντινόου τοῦτον γὰρ ἀλαζονεστατον ποιοῦσι τῶν μνηστήρων καὶ ἀκολαστοτατον ὁ πρῶτον μὲν κατεφρονει του Ὀδυσσεως, ὅτι ἐκεῖνος μὲν ἐν ρακεσιν ἦν, αὐτος δὲ ἐν

[1] ἥνετο Geel ἀφ' τὸ or ἀφ' τόνε
[2] γὰρ [illegible]
[3] οὐν Geel [illegible] [4] [illegible]

moved from within the gate; yet Asius, elated as he was by his horses and the beauty of his chariot, though having [illegible] past the wall, was prepared to [illegible] and to hold from his counsel—there you see that Homer then is speaking of the obstinacy and [illegible].

On the other hand, when he contrasts with these Polydamas giving orders to be cautious and not to cross, he [illegible] pointing out to the enterprise as a [illegible] they had had[1]—for he felt that [illegible] words in any other way, perhaps [illegible] he might persuade Hector [illegible] when Agamemnon and Achilles are [illegible] another, [illegible] Nestor attempting to make them cease their rage, and foretelling plainly what will befall them in case [illegible][2] and later upbraid Agamemnon as being in the wrong and [illegible] to entreat Achilles[3]; or again [illegible] the [illegible] of Agamemnon[4] through which, wishing to test [illegible] he almost brought about its flight—[illegible] that by [illegible] these Homer [illegible] to give advice regarding prudence and generalship and [illegible], and, more than this, regarding tact and [illegible].[5]

As for the category [illegible] I shall omit all else; I shall mention but one character, Antinous. For Homer has portrayed him as the most arrogant of the suitors and the most dissolute. For example, in the first place he insulted Odysseus because he was in rags,

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[1] Iliad 12. [illegible]

[2] Iliad 12. [illegible]

[3] Iliad 1. [illegible]

[4] Iliad 9. [illegible]

[5] Iliad 2. [illegible]-110 and 363-[illegible]

πολιτελεῖ δοθῆναι καὶ ἵππον ἐκ χρυσοῦ ποτηρίου, καὶ τούτων οὐχ αὐτοῦ· καὶ ἐδείπνει πολυτελῶς οὐκ ἐκ τῶν παρόντων ἀλλὰ παρασιτῶν ἐπ' οὐσίας ἀδεσπότου· καὶ ἔφη μὲν τῆς Πηνελόπης ἐρᾶν, ἐμιμεῖτο δὲ ταῖς δούλαις ταῖς τοῦ Ὀδυσσέως καὶ
21 τἄλλα ἦν ἀκόλαστος· τελευτῶν δὲ ἐπεχείρει τοξεύειν, ἄπειρος ὢν τοξικῆς καὶ τὰς χεῖρας οὕτως ὑπὸ τρυφῆς διεφθαρμένος ὡς μὴ δυνασθαι ἅπτεσθαι τῆς νευρᾶς εἰ μή τις ἐπιχρίσειε στέαρ· καὶ ταῦτα τοῦ Ὀδυσσέως ἀφικνουμένου καὶ τῆς ἐρωμένης παρούσης ἐν ἀνθρώποις τοιούτοις, μηδ' ἐπιτείνειν δυναμένος τὸ τόξον μηδὲ ὅπως σπάσει τοὺς πελέκεις ὁ Τηλέμαχος ξυνιείς· ὅμως δὲ καὶ τούτου ἀποθανόντα ἐπιθυμῆσαν οὐκ εἰκῇ πληγέντα διὰ τοῦ λαιμοῦ, οὐχ ὅπου ἔτυχεν, ὥσπερ αἰμιλεῖ τὸν Παυσαρον διὰ τῆς γλώττης· καὶ γὰρ εἰ τυχῇ τινὶ συμβαίνει τὰ τοιαῦτα, ὅμως ἐπὶ πολλῶν ἔστιν εἰπεῖν ὅτι τοῦτον μὲν τὸν ἄνθρωπον διὰ τῆς γαστρὸς δεῖ πληγέντα ἀποθανεῖν, τοῦτον δὲ διὰ τῶν αἰδοίων, τοῦτον δὲ διὰ τοῦ στόματος.

22 Μὴ οὖν ὑμῖν εἰκῇ δοκεῖ Ὅμηρος ἀτιμῶν λέγειν, οὐ τοίνυν οὐδὲ Σωκράτης ἄλλως ἐχρῆτο τοῖς λόγοις οὐδὲ τοῖς παραδείγμασιν, ἀλλ' Ἀντῳ μὲν διά-

[1] οὐχ ὡς ἔνιοι τῶν ἐν after Δεκλοπτα deleted by Cobet. At this stage but [illegible] a lacuna [illegible] the passage.
[2] ἐμιμεῖτο [illegible] Ἀθηναῖος [illegible] Ἀτ. [illegible].
[3] καὶ τούτου [illegible] Ἀτ. [illegible].

[2] E.g., *Odyssey* 17. 446–504.
[3] [illegible] 97.
[4] [illegible] 21. 126–[illegible]. Dio either misunderstood—or forgot—the passage or else had a different version before him, for

while Antinoüs himself in costly raiment was drinking from golden goblets, and those not his own, and was being outrageously not on his father's stands but rather putting the parents in a house that lacked a master. Moreover, while he pretended to be enamoured of Penelope, he was seducing her maidservants of Odysseus and behaving [illegible] generous, and he ended by [illegible] the law. Though he was [illegible] with archery and his hands were [illegible] by nature being as not [illegible] he attempt to grasp the bow, [illegible] and [illegible] it with [illegible] and what is more, he did [illegible] the mighty of Odysseus as well [illegible] of the art of bowmanship, the [illegible] of such a crowd of men, not even [illegible] behind the bow, nor understanding how [illegible] was going to set up the arrow. But for all that, Homer, aware that [illegible] death by a [illegible] through the throat of [illegible] Pisandros to be shot through the tongue.* For in deed, [illegible] to take place by mere chance [illegible] that this man [illegible] through the head and that man through the genitals and another man through the mouth.

Were then Homer does not seem to you to say anything without a purpose, how be? No more than did Socrates engage his words or illustrations at random; on the contrary, when conversing with

Homer is speaking of the wooing of the [illegible] of Troy [illegible] the axes.

* [illegible] of Antinoüs, who was shot through the throat, as Antinoüs was shot by Odysseus.

* Iliad [illegible].

λεγόμενος βυρσέων ἐμέμνητο καὶ σκυτοτόμων· εἰ δὲ Λυσικλεῖ διαλέγοιτο,[1] *ἀμνίων καὶ κωδίων, Λύκωνι δέ, δικῶν καὶ συκοφαντημάτων,*[2] *Μένωνι δὲ τῷ Θετταλῷ περὶ ἐραστῶν καὶ ἐρωμένων*[3]

[1] *προβάτων καὶ καπήλων* after *διαλέγοιτο* deleted by Hermann. Geel reads *τῷ προβατοκαπήλῳ.*

[2] *ἀμνίων καὶ κωδίων, Λύκωνι δέ, δικῶν καὶ συκοφαντημάτων* Geel: *γλύκωνι δέ, δικῶν καὶ συκοφαντημάτων καὶ ἀμνίων καὶ κωδίων.*

[3] *οὐ μέντοι ἀλλὰ καὶ ἄλλων ἐνίοτε παραδειγμάτων εἰπόρει, φίλους μὲν ὀνομάζων καὶ φιλίαν, ὅτε πρὸς Λύσιν διαλέγοιτο, περὶ σωφροσύνης δὲ Χαρμίδῃ διαλεγόμενος* after *ἐρωμένων* deleted by Wilamowitz. *Nay, but he had plenty of other illustrations at times, for he used to name friends and friendship*

Anytus he would refer to tanners and cobblers, but if he conversed with Lysicles, it would be lambs and fleeces, if with Lycon law-suits and blackmail; if with Meno the Thessalian, lovers and boy friends.[1]

[1] Anytus and Lycon were two of the accusers of Socrates. Anytus had a tannery (Xenophon, *Apology* 29), but Socrates did not talk with him exclusively on tanning (*Meno* 90 B–95 A). Of Lycon we know chiefly what the comic poets tell us: he was of foreign extraction and mingled with certain aristocrats. Plutarch, *Pericles* 24, says that Lysicles was a low-born sheep dealer, who attained some prominence through Aspasia. Aristophanes speaks of him slightingly in *Knights* 132 and 765. We know nothing of his dealings with Socrates. On Meno cf. Plato, *Meno* 70 A and 76 B.

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whenever he conversed with Lycon, but when he conversed with Charmides, it was about self-control.

THE FIFTY-SIXTH DISCOURSE: AGAMEMNON OR ON KINGSHIP

[illegible]

1 Δ. Πότερα βούλει περὶ Ἀγαμέμνονος ἀκούειν φρονίμους λόγους, ἀφ' ὧν ἔστιν ὠφεληθῆναι τὴν διάνοιαν, ἢ λυπεῖ σε Ἀγαμέμνων ὁ Ἀτρέως ὀνομαζόμενος ἐν τοῖς λόγοις,

Οὐδ' εἰ περὶ Ἀδράστου τοῦ Ταλαοῦ λέγοις ἢ Ταντάλου ἢ Πέλοπος, ἀχθοίμην ἄν, εἰ μέλλω βελτίων ἔσεσθαι.

Δ Καὶ μὴν ἀνεμνήσθην ἔναγχος λόγων τινῶν οὓς λέγοιμ' ἄν, εἴ μοι ἐρωτῶντι ἐθέλοις ἀποκρίνασθαι.

Λέγε ὡς ἀποκρινουμένου

2 Δ. Εἰσί τινες ἀνθρώπων ἄρχοντες, ὥσπερ ἕτεροι μὲν αἰγῶν, ἕτεροι δὲ ὑῶν, οἱ δέ τινες ἵππων, οἱ δὲ καὶ βοῶν, ξύμπαντες οὗτοι οἱ καλούμενοι κοινῇ ποιμένες ἢ οὐκ ἀνέγνωκας τοῦτο τὸ ἔπος Κρατίνου

ποιμὴν καθέστηκ', αἰπολῶ[1] καὶ βουκολῶ,[2]

Οὐκ ἂν ἔχοιμί σοι εἰπεῖν εἰ ποιμένας ἄμεινον ὀνομάζειν σύμπαντας τοὺς τῶν ζῴων νομέας

Δ Οὐ μόνον γε τῶν ἀλόγων, ὦ ἄριστε, ἀλλὰ

[1] αἰπολῶ Arnim αἰπόλω or αἰπωλῶ or αἴπολος.
[2] βουκολῶ Arnim : βουκόλῳ or βούκολος.

[1] Rightly or wrongly the Interlocutor assumes Dio to 402

THE FIFTY-SIXTH DISCOURSE
AGAMEMNON OR ON KINGSHIP

Dio. Do you wish to hear words of practical wisdom on the subject of Agamemnon, words by which the mind can be improved, or does it annoy you to have Agamemnon son of Atreus named in my discourses?

Interlocutor. Not ever if you should speak of Adrastus son of Talaüs or of Tantalus or of Pelops, should I be annoyed, provided I am likely to be improved.

Dio. Very well. I have just called to mind certain words which I might speak, if you would consent to answer when I question you.

Int. Proceed, for I will answer.

Dio. Are there certain persons who are rulers of men, just as there are some who are rulers of goats, others of swine, others of horses, others of cattle, these one and all having in common the title herders, or have you not read this verse of Cratinus?

My post is herder, goats and kine I tend.[1]

Int. I could not tell you whether it is better to call all who tend animals herders or not.

Dio. Not merely those who tend brute beasts, my

mean that Agamemnon might be regarded as too antiquated a theme. He therefore expresses willingness to hear about even more primitive heroes.

[1] Kock, *Com. Gr. Frag.*, Cratinus, frag. 261.

καὶ ἀνθρώπων, εἴ τι χρὴ Ὁμήρῳ πείθεσθαι περὶ τούτων· ἄλλα τί οὐκ ἀπεκρίνω τὸ ἐξ ἀρχῆς ἐρώτημα,

Τὸ ποῖον,

a. Εἴπερ[1] εἰσί τινες ἀνθρώπων ἄρχοντες,

Πῶς γὰρ οὐκ εἰσί,

3 a. Τινὲς οὗτοι, τίνας αὐτοὺς ἐπονομάζεις, λέγω δὲ οὐ τοὺς ἐν πολέμῳ στρατιωτῶν ἄρχοντας, στρατηγοὺς γὰρ ὀνομάζειν εἰώθαμεν τοὺς ἁπάσης τῆς στρατιᾶς[2] ἡγεμόνας· ὥσπερ γε καὶ κατὰ μέρος ὁ μὲν λόχου ἄρχων καλεῖται λοχαγός, ὁ δὲ ταξιῶν ταξίαρχος, ὁ δὲ τοῦ ναυτικοῦ ναύαρχος, ὁ δὲ μιᾶς τριήρους τριήραρχος· καὶ ἄλλοι εἰσὶν οὕτως καλούμενοι· πλείους ἐν τοῖς πολέμοις ἄρχοντες· κατ' ὀλίγους ὅτι πλειστῆς προνοίας τοῦτ' καὶ ἡγεμονίας 4 οἱ ἄνθρωποι δέονται· οὐδέ γε τῶν χορῶν τοὺς ἡγεμόνας[3] τυγχάνω πυνθανόμενος, οἵτινες καλοῦνται, τοὺς σημαίνοντας τοῖς ᾄδουσι καὶ μέλος ἐνδιδόντας, οὐδέ τοὺς τῶν συμποσίων ἡγεμόνας, οὐδ' εἴ τινες ἄλλοι[4] μέρους ἀνθρώπων πρὸς μίαν πρᾶξιν ἢ χρόνον ὁρῶν ἐπιμέλειαν τινα ἢ ἀρχὴν λαμβάνουσιν· ἀλλὰ τοὺς αὖ τοὺς[5] τῶν ἀνθρώπων ἄρχοντας πολιτευομένων καὶ γεωργούντων, ἂν οὕτως τυχωσι, καὶ βιούντων ἁπλῶς, ὡς Κῦρός τε Περσῶν ἦρξε καὶ Μήδων Δηιόκης καὶ Ἕλλην τῶν

[1] Εἴπερ] Εἰ καὶ, Wilamowitz.
[2] στρατιᾶς Reiske: στρατείας.
[3] After ἡγεμόνας Reiske adds καὶ κατά.
[4] After ἄρχοντες Reiske adds καὶ.
[5] ἡγεμόνας, Crosby: παρεφθαρμένον.
[6] ἄλλοι Arnim: ἄλλων.
[7] αὖ τοὺς with P: αὖτε γε Arnim, αὖτε τούτω Pflugk: αὖ τόνδε or αὖ τοῦτο or αὐτόνδε or αὖ τοῦτ'.

good fellow, but human beings too, if one should put any faith in Homer regarding these matters! But why did you not answer the original question?

Ini. What question?

Dio. Whether there are indeed certain rulers of men.

Ini. Why, of course there are.

Dio. Who are them? What do you call them? I am not speaking of those who rule soldiers in war, for these, who are leaders of the army as a whole, we are wont to call generals; just as we call those set over unit, the leader of a company is called captain, of a regiment, colonel, of the fleet, admiral, and of a single trireme, trierarch; moreover, there are several others who are named, in warfare, according to their special duties, because at that time men need the most care and leadership. Now, as it happens, am I asking what the leaders of the choruses are called, who give orders to the singers and set the tone? Nor am I asking about the leaders of symposia, or about any others who for a single act or for a set time assume a certain oversight and control over a group of men; on the contrary, I mean rather those who at any time rule human beings in their activities as a whole, or in their farsight, I may be so bold, in their living, as Cyrus, for example, ruled the Persians, Deiaces[1] the Medes. Herein those named for

[1] This is alluding to Homer's frequent use of the phrase [illegible]

[2] E.g., the [illegible], commander of a fourth of a company.

[3] I.e., [illegible]. [4] I.e., [illegible].

[5] Deiaces was probably an historical [illegible]. Herodotus [illegible] refers to him as the founder of a united kingdom, ruling Media for more than half a century.

δι' αὐτὸν ὀνομασθέντων καὶ Αἴολος Αἰολέων καὶ Δῶρος Δωριέων καὶ Νῶμας Ῥωμαίων καὶ Δαρδανος Φρυγῶν.

5 Ἀλλ' οὐδὲν ἦρου χαλεπον πάντες γὰρ οὗτοι οὓς σὺ νῦν ὀνομάζεις βασιλεῖς ἐκαλοῦντο καὶ ἦσαν καὶ ἡ ἀρχὴ αὕτη ἣν λέγεις τὸ καθόλου ἀνθρώπων ἀρχὴν καὶ ἐπιτάττειν ἀνθρώποις ἀνυπεύθυνον ὄντα βασιλεία καλεῖται.

4 Σὺ ἄρα οὐχ ἡγῇ βασιλεῖαν τὴν τῶν Ἡρακλειδῶν ἐν Λακεδαίμονι τοσοῦτον βασιλεύσαντων χρόνον, ἐκεῖνοι γὰρ οὐ πάντα ἔπραττον ὡς αὐτοῖς 6 ἔδοκει, ἀλλὰ πάρι πολλῶν νικῶνταν τοῖς ἐφόροις, οἵπερ[1] ὅτε κατέστη τοῦτο τὸ ἀρχεῖον ἐν Σπάρτῃ Θεοπόμπου βασιλεύοντος, πρὸς ἑκάστον αὐτῶν ἔφασαν τὸν βασιλέων ὅστε καὶ Παυσανίαν τὸν Κλεομβρότου τὸν νικήσαντα Πλαταιᾶσιν ἐβουλόντο μὲν εἰς τὴν εἱρκτὴν ἐμβαλεῖν, καταφύγοντα δὲ εἰς τὸ τῆς Ἀθηνᾶς ἱερὸν αὐτοῦ ἀπέκτειναν, καὶ οὐδὲν αὐτὸν ὤνησεν οὔτε ὅτι γένος[2] ἦν τῶν Ἡρακλειδῶν οὔτε ὅτι παῖδα[3] ἐπετρόπευεν οὔτε ὅτι τῆς Ἑλλάδος ἁπάσης ἡγήσατο, οὐ μόνον 7 τῆς Σπάρτης ὕστερον δὲ Ἀγησίλαον πολεμοῦντα βασιλεῖ τῷ μεγάλῳ καὶ περὶ Σαρδέων νικήσαντα μάχῃ καὶ κρατήσαντα πάσης τῆς κάτω Ἀσίας ἐπήρατην πεμφάντες ἐκάλουν παρ' αὐτοὺς[4] καὶ ὃς

[1] ὥνερ added by Cobet, al Herwerden. Arnim noted lacuna.
[2] γένος] γένους Reiske.
[3] παῖδα] παῖδα Cobet adds τὸν Λεωνίδα.
[4] παρ' αὐτοὺς Emperius παρ' αὐτοὺς δι' ὁρᾶς αὐτοὺς

[1] I.e., the Helieaea.
[2] The Spartan kings traced their lineage to Heracles, who

him,[1] Aeolus the Aeolians, Doros the Dorians, Numa the Romans and Dardanus the Phrygians.

Int. Why, your question is not a hard one; for all these whom you now name were called kings and kings they were; and this rule of which you speak, whereby a man is raised to be over human beings and gives them orders without being accountable to them, is called kingship.

Dio. Then you do not regard as kingship the rule of the Heracleidae, who were kings in Lacedaemon for so long a time?[2] For they did not do everything according to their own pleasure, but in many matters they were subject to the ephors, who, once this office had been established in Sparta in the reign of Theopompus,[3] for their year of office had no less authority than the kings, insomuch that they wished to throw into prison even Pausanias, son of Cleombrotus, the victor at Plataea, and when he had fled for refuge to the shrine of Athena, they walled him there;[4] and it profited him nothing that he was of the line of the Heracleidae, or that he was guardian of a boy,[5] or that he had been leader of all Hellas and not of Sparta alone. And later on, when Agesilaus was at war with the Great King and had been victorious in battle in the neighbourhood of Sardis and had gained control over all lower Asia, the ephors sent a subordinate to summon him home,

had been given sovereignty over Lacedaemon by Aegimius, king of Thessaly.

[1] These rulers were elected annually. Some ancient authorities attribute the institution of the office to Lycurgus, others to a younger [illegible]. The authority and functions are treated by Xenophon, *Polities* 8. 4. 1.

[2] They waited until the [illegible] that he starved to death.

[3] He was regent for Leotychidas, son of Zeuxidamus.

οὐδεμίαν ἡμέραν ἀνεβάλετο, τοσούτων μὲν Ἑλλήνων, τοσούτων δὲ βαρβάρων γεγονὼς κύριος· οὐκ ἄρα ὑπῆρχε βασιλεὺς τῆς Σπάρτης Ἀγησίλαος, ὃν ὑπήκουον ἑτέροις ἄρχουσιν.

Καὶ πῶς ἂν εἶεν οὗτοι βασιλεῖς πρὸς τὸν ἀκριβῆ περὶ τῆς βασιλείας λόγον,

8 ὃ Ἆρα οὐδὲ Ἀγαμέμνονα ἐν Ἰλίῳ φήσεις βασιλεῦσαι Ἀργείων τε καὶ Ἀχαιῶν, ὅτι εἶχε τῆς ἀρχῆς ἐπίτροπον ἄνδρα πρεσβύτερον, Νέστορα τὸν Πύλιον, καίπερ οὐ κελεύοντος τοῦ τείχους ᾠκοδομήθη τὸ περὶ τὰς ναῦς καὶ τὴν τάφρον περιεβάλοντο ἔρυμα τοῦ καυσταθμοῦ, καὶ διεῖλεν εἰς τάξεις τὸν στρατὸν ὁ Ἀγαμέμνων, πρότερον, ὡς ἔοικεν, εἰκῇ μαχόμενον, πεζοὺς τε καὶ ἱππεῖς, φυρδὴν ἁπάντων ἀναμεμιγμένων, Πυλίων τε καὶ Ἀργείων καὶ Ἀρκάδων καὶ Βοιωτῶν· ὁ δὲ Νέστωρ ὕστερον αὐτῷ προσέταξε κατὰ φῦλα διαιρεῖν τὸν στρατόν,

ὡς φρήτρῃ φρήτρηφιν ἀρήγῃ, φῦλα δὲ φύλοις·

9 οὕτω δὲ καὶ τῶν ἡγεμόνων, ἔφη, γνώσῃ τούς τε ἀγαθοὺς καὶ τοὺς κακούς· εἰ δὲ τῶν ἡγεμόνων, δῆλον ὅτι καὶ τῶν στρατιωτῶν· ἅμα διδάσκων τῆς ὠφελείας τὸ μέγεθος.

Καὶ τί βουλόμενος οὕτως ἐποίει,

ὃ Ἵνα ἐπιστήσας καὶ τελευτήσαντος αὐτοῦ τὴν στρατηγικὴν τέχνην ὁ Ἀγαμέμνων· οὕτως δὲ πάνυ ἦν κατηκοος τοῦ Νέστορος, ὥστε οὐ μόνον, εἴ τι προσέτατταν αὐτός παρων, τοῦτο ἐποιει

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[1] For the recall of Agesilaüs, see Xenophon, *Hellenica* 4. 2. 1-3.

[2] *Iliad* 7. 363-364.

and Agesilaüs did not do so a single day[1] although he had gained authority over so many Greeks and so many barbarians. Was Agesilaüs, then, not king of Sparta, since he was subject to other rulers?

Ist. Why, how could these be kings in the strict sense of kingship?

Dio. Will you, then, hold that not even Agamemnon was king of both Argives and Achaeans at Troy, since he had an older man as supervisor of his rule, Nestor of Pylus? Moreover, it was at that man's building that the wall about the ships was built and the trench dug about it as protection for the naval station; and at his direction too Agamemnon divided the army into detachments, though previously, as it would seem, it had fought without organization, both infantry and cavalry, all being mixed together in confusion, both Pylians and Argives and Arcadians and Boeotians. However, Nestor later bade him divide the army by tribes,

That phratry may aid phratry and tribe aid tribe;

"Moreover," said he, "in this way will thou recognize both the valorous and the cowardly among thy leaders;" but if among the leaders, obviously among the common soldiers too—and at the same time he explained the magnitude of the advantage that would result.

Ist. And with what purpose did Nestor do this?

Dio. In order that even after Nestor's death Agamemnon might understand the art of generalship. But Agamemnon was so wholly obedient to Nestor that he not only did eagerly anything Nestor com

[1] *Iliad*, 2. 362, lines 364-368 being added by Dio as paraphrase.

προθύμως, ἀλλ' οὐδὲ εἴ τι ὄναρ ᾠήθη Νέστορα λέγειν, οὐκ ἂν οὐδὲ τοῦτο παρέλιπε· τὸ γοῦν ὄναρ τὸ περὶ τῆς μάχης οὕτως ἐξηπατήσεν αὐτόν, Νέστορι ἀπεικασθέν.

10 Οὐ μόνον δὲ τῷ Νέστορι ὑπήκουν δοκοῦντι φρονιμωτάτῳ τῶν Ἀχαιῶν, ἀλλ' οὐδὲ ἄνευ τῶν γερόντων οὐδὲν ἔπραττεν· ὁπότε γοῦν ἐμέλλεν ἐξάγειν τὸν στρατὸν τῷ ἐνυπνίῳ πεισθεὶς, οὐ πρότερον ἐξήγαγε πρὶν ἡ βουλὴ τῶν γερόντων ἐκάθισε παρὰ τῇ νηῒ τῇ Νέστορος· οὐδὲ τὴν πεῖραν, ἣν ἐβούλετο λαβεῖν τοῦ πλήθους, εἰ ἔτι μένειν ἐβούλετο καὶ διαπολεμεῖν τοῦ Ἀχιλλέως μηνιόντος, οὐκ ἄλλως ἐπειράθη, πρὶν εἰς τὴν βουλὴν πρώτον εἰσηγγειλεν. οἱ δὲ πολλοὶ τῶν δημαγωγῶν ἀπροβουλευτὰ ψηφίσματα οὐκ ἐκινοῦσιν εἰς τὸν δῆμον εἰσφέρειν· ἐκεῖνος δὲ μετὰ τῶν γερόντων βουλευσάμενος οὕτως ἐμέμνητο εἰς τὸ πλῆθος περὶ τῆς καταστάσεως τοῦ πολέμου.

11 Τοῦτο μὲν οὐδὲν ἄτοπον, εἰ βασιλεὺς ὢν μετεδίδου λόγου τοῖς ἄλλοις καὶ συμβούλων εἶχε διὰ γῆρας πιστευομένων, αὐτὸς ὢν κύριος ἁπάντων τῶν πραγμάτων· ἐπεὶ διά τι[1] τὰ περὶ τὴν Βρισηΐδα οὕτως[2] ἐποίησεν οὐ πεισθεὶς τῷ Νέστορι τῷ βελτίστῳ;[3]

Ὥσπερ δὴ καὶ πολλοὶ τῶν ἰδιωτῶν οὐ πειθόμενοι τοῖς ἄρχουσιν οὐδὲ τοῖς νόμοις πολλὰ πράττουσι παρανομῶν, ὑπὲρ ὧν καὶ τὰς εὐθύνας

[1] διὰ τί] αἰτίαν Arnim.
[2] After οὕτως Kc sic adiu ἀσχρῶς
[3] τῷ βελτίστῳ τὸ βέλτιστον Arnim.

[1] *Iliad* ii. 16-47. Homer treats the dream as a person.

[illegible] resemblance to Nestor.[1]

[illegible]

[illegible] the words of [illegible] [illegible] the counsel.[2] [illegible]

Jos. [illegible]

Jos. Why [illegible] the cause of many men in private [illegible] who [illegible] their [illegible] in the law [illegible] many unlawful acts for which they

[illegible] *Iliad*, 2. 53-54.

[2] *Iliad*, 1. 275-276.

[3] *Iliad*, 1. 72-73.

ὑπέχουσιν οὐκοῦν ἀχθόμενοι εἰς τὸ δικαστήριον ζημιούσθω ἧς ἂν ἕκαστοι δοκῶσιν ἄξιοι ζημίας

Πάνυ γε

12 Τί οὖν, Ἀγαμέμνων οὐ δοκεῖ σοι τότε ἀπειθήσας ὕστερον εὐθυνεσθαι ὑπὸ τοῦ Νέστορος, ὑπηκόα αὐτοῦ κατηγορεῖ τῆς πράξεως ἐκείνης ἐν τοῖς φρονιμωτάτοις τῶν συμμάχων, τοῖς πνιμοσιν αὐτοῖς ' τιμῆμα ἔπαγον ὅ τι χρὴ πυθέσθαι ἢ ἀποτίσαι,' κατηγορίαν χαλεπωτάτην, ἅτε δεινὸς ὢν ῥήτωρ, λέγων ὅτι πάλαι βαρέως ἔχει τοῖς πράγμασιν

13 ἔξιτι τοῦ ἔπε, διογενες Βρισηΐδη κούρην
χωομενον Ἀχιλῆος ἕθεν κλισιηθεν ἀπουρας
οὔτι καθ' ἡμετερον γε νοον μαλα γαρ τοι ἔγωγε
πολλ' ἀνεμυθεομην συ δε σῷ μεγαλητορι θυμῷ
εἶξας ἀνδρα φεριστον, ὃν ἀθανατοι περ τεισαν
ἠτιμησας ἑλων γαρ ἔχεις γερας ἀλλ' ἔτι καὶ νυν
φραζωμεσθα

14 καὶ νὴ Δία γε οὐ μόνον αὐτὸν εὐθύνει τοῖς λόγοις, ἀλλὰ καὶ ζημίαν ἐπήγαγε τοῦ ἁμαρτήματος πασιν βαρυτατην κελευει γαρ αὐτον δεηθηναι τοῦ Ἀχιλλεως καὶ πάντα ποιεῖν ὅπως πεισῃ τον ἄνδρα καὶ ὃς ὑποτιμᾶται χρημάτων το πρωτον, ὥσπερ οἱ ἄλλοι τοὺς δικαστηριους, ὅτα φῃσιν ἀποτισαι δυνασθαι ἀντὶ τῆς ὕβρεως εἶτα' τα τε ἄλλα καὶ ὅρκον ὑποδεχεται ὀμοσειν σφαγιων γενομενων περι τῆς Βρισηιδος, ἢ μην αὐτῆς μηδὲ

15 ἁψασθαι λαβων ἀντι δε τοῦ μόνον μεταγαγειν ἀπὸ

[1] Before ζημιούσθω Dindorf deletes τὴν δίκην.
[2] τοῖς ἡμετέροις οὖσιν [illegible] Emperius.
[3] τοῖς ἡμετέροις [illegible] deletes [illegible] Emperius.
[4] ἀτε added by Cobet, see Reiske.

even have to submit to an accounting, so when they are brought before the court they are subjected to whatever penalty they severally are thought to merit.

Int. Certainly.

Dio. Well then, does it not seem to you that Agamemnon, because he disobeyed on that occasion, was later called to account by Nestor?[1] I refer to the passage in which Nestor accuses him of that act in the presence of the wisest of the Achaeans, he leading the accusation, adding what he was to suffer or to pay by way of penalty, a most grievous arrangement, for he was an old speaker, whereas he says he has long been troubled by Agamemnon's conduct:

> Ever since that day, O son of Zeus, when thou
> Didst go and snatch Briseis from the tent,
> Despite Achilles' rage, and not at all
> As I was minded. Many words I spake
> Against it, yet to thy proud heart thou didst
> Submit, dishonouring the bravest man
> Whom ever the gods had honoured, for his prize
> Thou hast by seizure, with art on plan even now

And by the gods, he not only called him to account by his words but even laid upon him the heaviest penalty of all for his misconduct. For he bids him entreat Achilles and go to all lengths to persuade him. And Agamemnon, like men convicted in the courts, first makes a counter proposal of a fine such as he says he is able to pay as compensation for his insult, then among other things he undertakes to offer sacrifice and to swear an oath regarding Briseis, that he has not even touched her since the day he took her from Achilles, and in payment for merely

[1] *Iliad* 9. 108-119.

σκηνῆς ἐπὶ σκηνὴν χρυσίου ἐπαγγέλλεται δώσειν πολὺ καὶ ἵππους καὶ τριπόδας καὶ λέβητας καὶ γυναῖκας καὶ πόλεις· τελευταῖον δέ, ὡς οὐκ δν[1] ἱκανόν, τῶν θυγατέρων τριῶν οὐσῶν ἣν ἂν βούληται συνοικεῖν[2]· ὅπερ οὐδεὶς πώποτε κατεκρίθη παθεῖν, ἀντὶ θεραπαίνης, καὶ ταύτης αἰχμαλώτου, μηδὲν παθούσης, ἀναγκασθῆναι[3] συνοικισαι τὴν θυγατέρα ἐπὶ προικὶ μεγάλῃ ἄνευ ἔδνων καίτοι τῆς δίκης ταύτης οὐδεμίαν ἴσμεν ἰδιωτικὴν δίκην πικρότερον κριθεῖσαν[4]

16 Ἆρά σοι δοκεῖ πρὸς θεῶν ἀνυπεύθυνος ἄρχειν ὁ Ἀγαμέμνων τῶν Ἑλλήνων, ἀλλ' οὐ πάνυ ἀκριβεῖς ὑπέχειν εὐθύνας ἁπάντων ὧν ἔπραττεν; περὶ μὲν δὴ τούτων αὐτοῦ τὸν λόγον ἐάσωμεν, χθὲς ἱκανῶς εἰρημένον, ἐπ' ἄλλον δέ τινα ἴωμεν.

Μὴ πρὸς θεῶν, ἄλλα πειράθητι πάντα εἰπεῖν ὅσα ἔχεις[5] ὑπὲρ τοῦ αὐτοῦ πράγματος, ὡς ἐγὼ μόλις ἀρτίως συνίημι τοῦ λόγου τὴν ὑποθεσιν. οἶμαι γάρ σε περὶ ἀρχῆς ἢ βασιλείας ἢ τοιοῦτόν τι βούλεσθαι λέγειν

[1] ὂν Emperius: ἦν.
[2] συνοικεῖν] συνοικιεῖν Geel.
[3] ἀναγκασθῆναι Crosby, ἀναγκάζεται Geel: ἀναγκάσαι, which Dindorf deletes.
[4] καίτοι τῆς δίκης . κριθεῖσαν deleted by Emperius.
[5] ἔχεις Geel λέγειν.

[1] *Iliad* 9. 114-157

having removed her from one tent to another, he offers to give much good horses, tripods, cauldrons, women, and cities, and finally, thinking this not enough, he offers Achilles whichever of his three daughters he may desire to have as wife.[3] Such a penalty no man had ever been condemned to undergo in payment for a mere servant, and for a captive woman, although she had suffered no harm, to be forced to give his own daughter in marriage, together with a huge dower, and without any presents from the groom! In truth we know of no great to-do over a matter so private as this that has received a more bitter decision than this one.

Does it seem to you, in Heaven's name, that Agamemnon ruled the Greeks without being subject to an accounting, and that he did not give very strict account for all he did? Very well, let us drop our discussion of these matters just here, since they were dealt with adequately yesterday, and let us turn to some other topic.

Ist. Nay, by Heaven, rather try to say all you can upon the same topic, since I am now at last just beginning to understand the drift of your argument. For I imagine you wish to discuss government or kingship or some such thing.

[3] The bride of epic days brought no dower. The astounding list of items promised by Agamemnon, not a few of which are [illegible] by [illegible] were [illegible] for wounded pride. Possibly Dio was being facetious.

THE [illegible]-SEVENTH DISCOURSE [illegible]

[illegible] immediate also a defence of

57. ΝΕΣΤΩΡ

1 Διά τί ποτε δοκεῖ ὑμῖν Ὅμηρος Νέστορα[1] ποιῆσαι τάδε τὰ ἔπη εἰπεῖν[2] πρὸς Ἀγαμέμνονα καὶ Ἀχιλλέα, παραμυθούμενον[3] αὐτοὺς καὶ διδάσκοντα μὴ διαφέρεσθαι ἀλλήλοις

ἤδη γάρ ποτ' ἐγὼ καὶ ἀρείοσιν ἠέπερ ὑμῖν
ἀνδράσιν ὡμίλησα, καὶ οὔποτέ μ' οἵ γ' ἀθέριζον.
οὐ γάρ πω τοιοῦς ἴδον ἄνδρας οὐδὲ ἴδωμαι,
οἷον Πειρίθοόν τε Δρυαντά τε ποιμένα λαῶν,
Καινέά τ' Ἐξάδιόν τε καὶ ἀντίθεον Πολύφημον,
Θησέά τ' Αἰγείδην ἐπιείκελον ἀθανάτοισι·
κάρτιστοι δὴ κεῖνοι ἐπιχθονίων τράφεν ἀνδρῶν
κάρτιστοι μὲν ἔσαν καὶ καρτίστοις ἐμάχοντο
φηρσὶν ὀρεσκάοισι, καὶ ἐκπάγλως ἀπόλεσσαν
καὶ μὲν μὲν βουλέων ξύνιον πείθοντό τε μύθῳ·
ἀλλὰ πίθεσθε καὶ ὑμμέες, ἐπεὶ πείθεσθαι ἄμεινον.

2 ἆρα μὴ ἀλαζόνα πεποίηκε τὸν Νέστορα λέγοντα περὶ τοῦ Πειρίθου καὶ Δρύαντος καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ὅτι θαυμαστοί τε φύσει ὄντες καὶ πολὺ κρείττους

[1] Ὅμηρος Νέστορα Crosby. Νέστορος ὄμμασι (περὶ νέστορος L, ὁ Ὅμηρος L B.
[2] εἰπεῖν added by Crosby.
[3] παραμυθούμενον παραμυθούμενα or παραμυθουμένου Reiske.

[1] *Iliad* 1. 260-268 and 974-976. The reference is to the famous fight between the Lapiths and the Centaurs at the marriage of the Lapith Peirithoös, an adventure familiar in

THE FIFTY-SEVENTH DISCOURSE
NESTOR

Why in the world do you suppose Homer caused Nestor to speak the following verses to Agamemnon and Achilles when he was trying to pacify them and teach them not to quarrel with one another?

For once in bygone days I dealt with men
Still braver than ye are, yet they did ne'er
Make light of me. Such men I had not seen,
Nor ever shall, as were Peirithoüs
And Dryas, shepherd of the soldiery,
And Caeneus and Exadius, Polypheme
Divine and Theseus son of Aegeus, like
The deathless gods. Aye, they were reared most strong
Of earthly men; most strong were they and with
The strongest strove, wild creatures of the hills,
And slew them ruthlessly. They understood
My counsels and they hearkened to my word
And so should ye, since hearkening is best.[1]

Can it be that Homer has made a braggart of Nestor when he says of Peirithoüs and Dryas and the others that, though they were not only marvellous by nature, but also far superior to Agamemnon and Achilles, still

[1] Greek art, having been used for the western pediment of the Zeus temple at Olympia, on the shield of the Athena Promachus, and in the decoration of the Hephaesteum at Athens.

ἐκείνων[1] προσεδέοντο τῆς αὐτοῦ διανοίας καὶ ἦκε μεταπεμπτος εἰς Θεσσαλίαν ἐκ Ἰλίου δεομένων ξυνεῖναι καὶ διαλέγεσθαι αὐτῷ. τί γὰρ εἰπὼν ὅτι κρατίστοι ἀνθρώπων ἦσαν, ὡς μέγα τι μαρτυρεῖν ἔοικεν αὐτοῖς τὸ ξυνεῖναι τῆς αὐτοῦ γνώμης καὶ πείθεσθαι τοῖς λόγοις, ἢ τοῦτο μὲν σχεδὸν τὸ[2] οὗ ἕνεκα φαμὲν πᾶσι τοῖς ὀρθῶς λεγομένοις οὐδέποτε οὐδεὶς ἀπειθεῖ[3] τῶν ξυνιόντων ἀλλ' ἔστιν ἡ ἀπειθεία τοιοῦτον ἀξύνεσις.

3 Φέρε δὴ καὶ τάλλα σκεψώμεθα, πότερον ὀρθῶς εἴρηκεν ἢ δι' ἀλαζονείαν. οὐκοῦν οἱ ἀνόητοι πάντες καταφρονοῦσι τῶν ἀδόξων ἀνθρώπων καὶ οὐδὲν προσέχουσι τούτοις, οὐδ' ἂν τύχωσι τὰ ἄριστα συμβουλεύοντες· οὓς δ' ἂν ἴδωσι τιμωμένους ὑπὸ τοῦ πλήθους ἢ τῶν μέγιστα δυναμένων, οὐκ ἀπαξιοῦσι πείθεσθαι αὐτοῖς· ἵνα μὲν οὖν τούτου χάριν ὁ Νέστωρ συνιστησιν αὐτόν, ὅτι πολλοὺς καὶ δυνατοὺς πρότερον ἡδυνήθη πείσαι καὶ ὅτι ἐκείνοις κατὰ τὴν αἰτίαν[4] ἀφρόσυνην καὶ ἀκαιθήτιαν ἀπειθήσουσιν, ἂν ἀπειθῶσιν, οὐχ ὡς ἀδύνατον ὄντος αὐτοῦ
4 συμβουλεῦσαι περὶ τῶν μεγίστων· ὥσπερ οὖν εἰ λοιδορῶν αὐτὸν καὶ λέγων ὅτι μηδέποτε μηδεὶς ἠξίωσεν αὐτῷ συμβουλεῦσασθαι περὶ μηδενὸς ἔμελλε προτρέπειν τὸν Ἀγαμέμνονα καὶ τὸν Ἀχιλ-

[1] ἐκείνων Cassels: ἀνθρώπων. [2] αὐτοῦ Crosby: αὐτοῦ.
[3] πείθεσθαι Crosby: the which Arnim suspected.
τὸ added by Capps.
[4] ἀνοίας Emperius: πάθος or παθέων.
[5] αὐτῷ Crosby: αὐτῶν.

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[1] Dio here gives a rough paraphrase of lines 369–371 of the passage from which he has just quoted. Either he or the copyist omitted lines 372 and 373 because of homoeoarchon.

they wanted his opinion too, going on to say that he had come from Pylos the way by invitation since they wanted to enjoy his company and to converse with him. But why, after having said that they were the strongest of men, does Nestor seem to offer as a weighty testimony in their favour that they understood his mind and hearkened to his words? Or do we say his company was so much thought of by men of understanding, or rather, he whose wit is sharp, that he deprives testimonial of lack of understanding?[1]

Come then, let us examine also the other aspects of the case, to see if Nestor has spoken rightly or as a braggart. Certainly [illegible] even though they may choose to be guided by most excellent advice; but on the other hand, when they see men being honoured by the multitude or by persons of greatest power, they [illegible] to be guided by them. This is one reason, therefore, on which Nestor commends himself, namely that in days gone by he has been able to persuade many men of influence, and that Agamemnon and Achilles will return to deeds of valour because of their own force and [illegible] and so because Nestor is competent to give advice about things of highest importance. Accordingly, lest as Nestor would not have hesitated to disparage himself, if by disparaging and saying that no one ever deigned to consult him about anything he were able to move Agamemnon

[1] Familiar Stoic doctrine, that virtue is dependent upon reason. [illegible] *Memorabilia* 2, 9 & 3. [illegible] *Protagoras* 330 c.

λιν πειθεσθαι τοῖς λόγοις οὐκ ἂν ὤοιτο λοιδορεῖν οὕτως τὸ τῶν ἑκόντων ἥττω παρορμῶντα κρίνει τοῦτο, εἰκότως δήπου· ἢ οὐκ ἀκούετε ἀν-
3 θρώπου ὄντος αἰσχυνθεῖν αὐτὸν ἑκόντα μᾶλλον τὰ μέγιστα ὑπόσχεσθαι ὥσπερ, οἶμαι καὶ τοιούτοις, σιωπῶντα καὶ μὴ τὸν ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ πολλοὺς, εἰ κινδυνεύοις ἢ βλάπτῃ πρόσοιη· καθάπερ οὐδ' ἅπαν ἰατρὸς δουλόμενος τέμνειν τινὶ ἢ καὶ παρασχεῖν αὐτὸν ἢ πεῖν φάρμακον ἄπορος, δεῖλον εἶναι τὸν ἀνθρώπον καὶ ἄτολμον, ἕτερον μεταπεμπόμενον τῶν ὑφ' αὐτοῦ σωθέντων διὰ τὸ πεισθέντα ὑπομεῖναι τὴν θεραπείαν, οὐδὲν φόβον ἀλαζονεύεσθαι τοῦ ταῦτα
6 λέγοντα· δοκεῖ μοι δικαίως ἂν μηδὲ ὁ Λεύκων αὐτὸν ἔχειν ἀλαζονείας.

Ἓν μὲν δὴ τοῦτο ὑπῆρχεν ὄφελος ἐκ τῶν λόγων ἕτερον δὲ καὶ τὸν Ἀγαμέμνονα καὶ τὸν Ἀχιλλέα πιστοῦσθαι οὐκ ἄλλως ἁμαρτανόντας ἢ δι' ὑβριν νεμόμενον δὲ πρότερον τοὺς ἀνθρώπους τότε μάλιστα σχεδὸν ἐπειδὰν καταφρονῶσι τῶν ἄλλων καὶ νομίζωσι πολὺ χείρονας αὐτῶν ἑαυτοὺς διὰ δόξαν ἢ δύναμιν, καὶ τὸν Ἀχιλλέα καὶ τὸν Ἀγαμέμνονα ἐγγύτατα διὰ τοῦτο ἑαυτοὺς καὶ σταυράζοντας ὑπὸ μεγαλαυχίας ἑκάτερον· ὁ μὲν γὰρ ἦν, Πηλέως καὶ Θετίδος υἱὸς ὢν καὶ τῶν τότε ἀνθρώπων διαφέρων δὲ τῷ μαχεσθαι, προσήκειν αὐτῷ μηδένος ἐπιλῶν ὑπακούειν μηδὲ κρείττονα
7 νομίζειν αὐτοῦ μηδένα· τῷ δὲ Ἀγαμέμνονι τῆς ἰσχύος αὐτῶν ὑπῆρχεν ἡ δύναμις ἡ τῆς βασιλείας καὶ τὸ μόνον ἄρχειν τῶν Ἑλλήνων πάντων· ὑπὸ

[1] αὐτὸν Ρ: αὐτῶν. [2] τὸ added by Reiske.
[3] καὶ τὸν Arnim. [4] τὸν τὸν ω: καὶ τὸν or ἢ τὸν or ἢ τὸν.
[5] αὐτῷ Arnim: αὐτῷ.

and Achilles to obey his words; so, if he thought his self praise would incite them to this, it was reasonable for him to resort to praise. Or is it not the mark of a foolish person to be ashamed to praise himself when by praise he is likely to confer the greatest benefits, just as it is, I fancy, to do the opposite, put on airs and talk about oneself a great deal in case some risk or loss should arise and? Therefore, just as when a physician who wants a patient to submit to surgery or cautery or to the drinking of some unpleasant drug, knowing the patient to be cowardly and foolish, incites others who have been saved by him because they willingly submitted to his treatment, no one says the man who makes these statements is bragging, so it seems to me that Nestor could not justly be accused of bragging either.

This, then, was one benefit resulting from his words. And here is another. Nestor knew that both Agamemnon and Achilles were misbehaving for no other reason than because of insolence, and he believed that men are prone to most of all, one might say, when they despise the others and deem them far inferior to themselves, being puffed up through reputation or power, and he perceived that this was why Achilles and Agamemnon were puffed up and wrangling, each of them because of arrogance. For the one, as he saw, being a son of Peleus and Thetis and pre-eminent among the men of his day in fighting, believed that it befitted his dignity not to listen to anyone at all or to regard anyone as superior to himself; but in Agamemnon's case the cause of his arrogance was the power attached to his kingship and his being sole ruler of all the Greeks. Seeing, there-

δὴ τούτων ἁρῶν αὐτοὺς διεφθαρμένους καὶ μὴ δυναμένους ὁμονοεῖν ἀλλήλοις, ἀλλὰ τὰς ψυχὰς οἰδουντας, ὡς ὕστερόν φησιν ὁ Ἀχιλλεύς,

ἀλλά μοι οἰδανεται κραδιη χολῳ

ἐβούλετο τοιγαρτοι καὶ τοῦ φρονήματος, εἰ δυναιτο, καθελεῖν, ὥσπερ οἱ τὰ οἰδοῦντα νύξαντες ἢ πιέσαντες· διὰ τοῦτο ἐμέμητο ἀνδρῶν ἐνδόξων καὶ δυνατῶν, ἔτι δέ, οἶμαι, πρότερον γεγονότων, εἴδως ἐκείνους μᾶλλον συνεπομένην τὴν δόξαν· καὶ μέντοι γε οὐκ ἐπ' αὐτοῖς ἐποιήσατο τινα γνώμην ἔχουσι περὶ τῶν ἀνδρῶν, ἀλλ' αὐτὸς ἀποφαίνεται ἀντιπερυς ὡς πολὺ κρείττονας ἐκείνους ὄντας, εἰ δύναιτο ὀλίγον ὑφεῖναι τοῦ τυφοῦ καὶ τῆς μανίας.

Ἆρα εἰκῇ δοκεῖ ὑμῖν Ὅμηρος περιθεῖναι τοὺς λόγους τούτους Νέστορι, ὃν φησι δεινότατον εἶναι ἀνθρώπων καὶ τὴν δύναμιν αὐτοῦ τῶν λόγων προσεικάζει τῇ φύσει τοῦ μέλιτος, ὃ τοῖς μὲν ὑγιαίνουσιν ἥδιστον καὶ γλυκύτατον ἁπάντων, τοῖς δὲ νοσοῦσι καὶ πυρττουσιν, ὥς φασιν, ἀηδέστατον καὶ τὰ ἡλκωμένα καὶ πεπονθότα καθαίρειν καὶ δάκνειν πέφυκεν· καὶ γὰρ ὁ τοῦ Νέστορος λόγος, τοῖς ἄλλοις γλυκὺς φαινόμενος, πικρὸς ἔδοξε τῷ Ἀχιλλεῖ καὶ τῷ Ἀγαμέμνονι, νοσοῦσι καὶ διεφθαρμένοις ὑπὸ τῆς ὀργῆς, ὥστε οὐκ ἐπείσθησαν αὐτῷ διὰ τὴν

[1] διεφθαρμένους Post: ἀνείκων.

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[2] *Iliad* θ. 646.

[3] I.e., the heroes Nestor had named.

[4] Although all the mss. read ἐκείνους, Post's emendation (see critical note) is justified both by the immediate context and by the passages from the *Iliad* cited by Dio. The very

fore that they had been spoiled by these things and could not live at peace with one another, but that they were swollen in spirit—as later Achilles declares

My heart with wrath doth swell —

Nestor wished to humble them and, if possible, reduce their pride, just as physicians reduce swelling by cutting or scorching. This explains why he [illegible] of fame and power and besides I fancy [illegible] knowing so beyond that fame [illegible] rather [illegible] However he did not [illegible] his heart to [illegible] what opinion they should hold about the [illegible] but instead he himself [illegible] that they were far superior to Agamemnon and Achilles in the hope that they might [illegible] somewhat their [illegible] and madness.[a]

[illegible] I [illegible] that Homer put these words into Nestor's mouth at random, the Nestor whom he declares to be most the sort of man and whose power [illegible] he likens to the sweetness of honey, which is most pleasant and sweetest [illegible] to those who are well, though to those who are ill and suffering from fever, as I hear, it is most unpleasant and has the natural power of cleansing and causing to smart parts which are festered and diseased. For instance, the speech of Nestor, though it appeared sweet to the others, seemed bitter to Achilles and Agamemnon, diseased as they were and corrupted by their rage, and as a result they did not obey him

power of *Iliad* I. [illegible] is that, since better men than Agamemnon and Achilles had been [illegible] Nestor's words, they should [illegible] the superiority of the latter [illegible] made most [illegible] not as well as by [illegible] to cite.

[a] *Iliad* I, 247-248.

ἄνιαν· οὐκοῦν οὐδὲ τοῦτο εἶπε μάτην Ὅμηρος, οὐδέ, ὥσπερ οἴονται τινες, ἀπὸ τύχης[1]

10 Περὶ μὲν οὖν τούτων ἐῶμεν· ἐκεῖνο δ' ἐνθυμηθῆναι ἄξιον ἀπὸ τῶν εἰρημένων· ἐὰν τις ἀνθρώπους ὁμιλῶν διηγῆται πρὸς αὐτοὺς ὅτι καὶ πρότερον ἄλλους ὁμιλήσας πολὺ κρείττους, δήμους ἢ βασιλεῖσιν ἢ τυράννοις, οὐκ ἀπέτυχεν αὐτῶν, ἀλλ' ἔσχεν ὑπακούοντας καὶ πειθομένους, εἰ δίκαιος ἐστιν ἀλαζὼν δοκεῖν, ὡς διὰ τοῦτο μεμνημένος ἐκείνων τῶν λόγων ἵνα θαυμάζοιτο καὶ δοκοίη μακάριος, ἢ μᾶλλον ἵνα πειθομένους ἔχοι[2] τοὺς ἀκούοντας, μιμούμενος τὴν τοῦ Νέστορος διδα-

11 σκαλίαν· καὶ γὰρ ἄτοπον, εἰ Σωκράτης μὲν τοὺς ἐν Λυκείῳ ῥηθέντας λόγους ὀλίγον μεταβὰς ἀπήγγελλε τοῖς ἐν Ἀκαδημείᾳ, καὶ τοὺς ἐν Ἀκαδημείᾳ πάλιν εἰς τὸ Λύκειον ἐλθὼν οὐκ ἄνοιν διαλέγεσθαι, καὶ τοσοῦτος ἤδη χρόνος ἐστὶν ἐξ οὗ τὰς αὐτὰς[3] διδάσκουσι τραγῳδίας καὶ κωμῳδίας· ἡμεῖς δὲ

[1] After τύχης the MSS read ἢ δοκεῖ ὑμῖν τὰ πολλὰ ὧν πάσχομεν τὸ σῶμα καὶ διεφθαρμένον ἐστὶν ὑπὸ ἑλκῶν καὶ ἀγκυλῶν καὶ δυῶν μόλις γινόμενα. *Or do you think that the diseases which we suffer and are cured by were do not exist of distress and cry and were they quite honey?* Emperius suspected the passage and Cobet deletes.

[2] ἔχοι W and w. ἴοιεν or ἴοιν.

[3] τὰς αὐτὰς Salmasius: ταὐτὰς.

[1] The Academy and the Lyceum, both famous public parks and associated with the schools of Plato and Aristotle respectively, were situated on opposite sides of the city, the distance between them being not less than two miles. Socrates was especially fond of the Lyceum, but the dialogue as he walks from the Lyceum to the Academy in Plato's dialogues seem to afford no support for this state-

because of their folly. Therefore Homer did not say th[illegible] at random either [illegible] by chance.

We, then, [illegible] say no more on these [illegible]. However, [illegible] one matter which calls for consideration in the light of what has been said. Suppose [illegible] were [illegible] addressing ordinary men to the thought [illegible] a previous occasion having addressed others who were far superior, yes, [illegible] or kings or tyrants, [illegible] of [illegible] with them [illegible] of th[illegible] and [illegible] to [illegible] than [illegible] a braggart, on the [illegible] that he had mentioned these words of his for the purpose of being admired and [illegible] a genius, or was it rather for the purpose of having [illegible] of his [illegible] the teaching of Nestor. [illegible] if [illegible] Socrates [illegible] when [illegible] a short distance and he [illegible] in the [illegible] words he had [illegible] Lyceum [illegible] had [illegible] to [illegible] and [illegible] the words he had spoken in the Academy, and when it has now been [illegible] since they began to bring out the same tragedies and comedies year after year,

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[illegible] that Socrates was used to going from the one place to the other [illegible] and [illegible] return from Trajan's court. See Introduction.

[illegible] order to the Athenians. [illegible] and Flickinger, *Greek Theater and its Drama*, pp. [illegible]

ἄτοπον δόξομεν ποιεῖν, ἐπειδὴ βούλεσθε ἀκροᾶσθαι λόγων τινῶν, τοὺς ῥηθέντας πρὸς τὸν αὐτοκράτορα νῦν ἀπαγγέλλοντες, ὡς οὐ διαφέρον εἰδέναι πότερον ὠφέλιμοι καὶ χρήσιμοι καὶ ὑμῖν καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις ἀνθρώποις ἅπασιν ἐκεῖνοι[1] ἢ φαῦλοι καὶ ἀνωφελεῖς.

12 εὖ γὰρ ἴστε ὅτι τοῖς μὲν ἰδιώταις οἱ λεγόμενοι λόγοι πρὸς αὐτοὺς ἐκείνους τείνουσι καὶ ὀλίγους τῶν ἄλλων· οἱ δὲ πρὸς τοὺς βασιλέας ταῖς δημοσίαις εἰσίκασιν εὐχαῖς ἢ κατάραις· ὅθεν ἐγὼ τὸν Πέρσην οὔτε τἆλλα νομίζω φρόνιμον οὔτε ὅτι τοὺς τυχόντας ἀνθρώπους πανταχῇ διέπεμπεν, ἃ τὰ βασιλέως καλουμένους, καὶ πάντα ἐκείνοις ἀκούειν ἐπέτρεπε, δέοι φυλάττεσθαι τὰ βασιλέως ὦτα πολὺ μᾶλλον τῆς χρυσῆς πλατάνου, μή τι δυσχερὲς ἀκούσῃ καὶ βλαβερόν.

[1] ἐκεῖνοι Emperius ἐκεῖνοι.

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[1] See Introduction.

[2] The functionary called the King's Eye is mentioned as early as the *Persians* of Aeschylus (line 979), with which cf. also Herodotus I. 114 and Aristophanes, *Acharnians* 91-97. The King's Ears are referred to first by Xenophon, *Cyropaedia* 7. 2. 10-12, who says that there were several of them.

[3] According to Herodotus (7. 27), the golden plane-tree was

we, on the other hand, shall be thought to be acting strangely in case, when you wish to listen to speeches, we now report the words we have spoken in the presence of the Emperor, as if it were a matter of no consequence to know whether those words are beneficial and serviceable, both for you and for the rest of mankind as well, or trivial and useless. For rest assured that, while words addressed to private persons pertain to those men themselves and to few others, words addressed to kings are like public prayers or imprecations. For that reason I believe the Persian king was especially wise in acting accustomed to dispatch in all directions ordinary persons, King's Ears[1] as they were called, and to entrust them with the responsibility of listening to everything, it being necessary to protect the real ears of the king much more carefully than the golden plane-tree,[2] to prevent their hearing anything disagreeable and harmful.

presented to Darius the Great by Pythius of Lydia. Xenophon, *Hellenica*, I. i. 38, relates that Antiochus of Arcadia scornfully declared that the tree could not afford shade for a grasshopper. However that may be, it was cherished in the royal treasury at Susa and regarded as one of the marvels of the world. It was cut down by Antigonus in 316 B.C.

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[illegible] resembles strongly [illegible] tian, is regarded by [illegible] the composition, either a satyr play or some C[illegible] The statue devoted to [illegible]

Lobera, w[illegible]

The tra[illegible] his prophe[illegible]

time of our Dis[illegible]

68. ΑΧΙΛΛΕΥΣ

1 Ὁ Ἀχιλλεὺς τὸν Χείρωνα ἤρετο, Τί μ', ἔφη, τοξεύειν διδάσκεις, Ὅτι, ἔφη, καὶ τοῦτο τῶν πολεμικῶν ἐστιν. Δειλῶν, ἔφη, τὸ ἔργον ἐπὶ δειλούς Πῶς, ἔφη. Ὅ γε οὐκ ἐᾷ τὸν πολέμιον ἐγγὺς προσελθεῖν Ὅ γε οὐκ ἐᾷ τὸν πολέμιον μακρὰν ἀπελθεῖν Φευγόντων τὸ ὅπλον Οὔκ, ἀλλ' ἐπὶ τοὺς φεύγοντας. Αὐτὸν δεῖ τοὺς φεύγοντας αἱρεῖν. Βράδιον ἢ τάχιον, Ἴδε οἷόν τε τάχιστα Πότερον οὖν τρέχων τις αἱροῖ ἂν θᾶττον ἢ πετόμενος, Μὴ οὖν αὐτός γε αἱρεῖ, Τίς μήν;
2 Τὸ βέλος. Ἐὰν δὲ ἀκοντίσῃς, τίς αἱρεῖ; Οὐκ οἶδα Ἀλλὰ πότε αὐτὸς αἱρεῖς καὶ ἀποκτείνεις; ὅταν διασπάσῃς λαβών, ὥσπερ τὰ θηρία; ἦπου, ἔφη, ἀνδρειοτέρας ἡγῇ τὰς γυναῖκας, ὅτι ἐγγύτατα μάχονται ἐπιπεσοῦσαι ἀλλήλαις, ὁ δὲ Ἀχιλλεὺς ταῦτα ἀκούων ἅμα θυμοῦ καὶ δακρύων ἐνεπίμπλατο καὶ τὸν Χείρωνα ἐλοιδόρει καὶ οὐκ ἔφη

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Achilles questioned Cheiron and said: "Why are you teaching me to use the bow?" "Because," said he, "this too is one of the warlike accomplishments." "The accomplishment of cowards," retorted Achilles, "directed against cowards!" "How so?" returned Cheiron. "It does not allow the foe to come near," said Achilles. "It does not allow the foe to get far away," replied Cheiron. "The weapon belongs to men who flee." "Nay, instead it is directed at men who flee." "With his own hands a man should overpower those who flee." "More slowly or more quickly?" "As quickly as possible." "Then," said Cheiron, "could a man overpower more quickly by running or by flying?" "You don't mean overpower with his own hands, do you?" "Who does it then?" "The missile." "But if you hurl a javelin," said Cheiron, "who overpowers?" "I don't know." "Well, when do you yourself overpower and slay? When you lay hold of your victim and tear him to pieces, as wild beasts do? Do you perhaps," said Cheiron, "regard the women as more manly, because they fight at very close quarters, hurling themselves at each other?" But Achilles, as he heard these words, was filled at one and the same time with rage and tears, and he abused Cheiron

παρ' αὐτῷ μενεῖν, ἀλλ' εἰς Θεσσαλίαν ἀνιέναι παρὰ τὸν πατέρα καὶ παρ' ἐκείνῳ παιδευόμενος· πολὺ γὰρ κρείττονα εἶναι τὸν Πηλέα τοῦ Χείρωνος καὶ οὐκ εἶναι σοφιστὴν ὥσπερ ὁ Χείρων· ἦν δὲ ἔτι παῖς ὁ Ἀχιλλεὺς οὐδέπω ἡβάσκων.

2 Πῶς οὖν, ἔφη, κρείττων ὢν οὐκ αὐτὸς παιδεύει σε, Ὅτι, ἔφη, οἱ σχολὴ αὐτῷ· Ἀπὸ τοῦ, Ἀπὸ τῆς βασιλείας· Διαφέρει οὖν τι βασιλεύειν ἢ παιδεύειν; Πολύ γε· σὺ δὲ μοι δίδως κέρας τι καὶ κεῖρον καὶ μικρὰ σιδήρια ἔτι λεπτοῖς δοκανίοις, ὥσπερ ὀρνίθας θηρεύειν μέλλοντι, οὐκ ἰκμάνιον οὐδὲ θηρίοις μαχεῖσθαι· γνοὺς δ' ἂν τις τὴν αὐλιότητα ὅστ' τῶν ὅπλων,[1] εἰ ποτε ἄγχος γένοιτο καὶ ἀναγκασθείη αὐτοῖς ἐκ χειρὸς μαχεῖσθαι· ἀλλὰ δεῖ βραπετεύοντα μαχεσθαι, φοβούμενον καὶ φυλαττόμενον ὅπως μηδὲ ἁφθήσεται· ὥσπερ κακὸν ἀνδράποδον· ὃς γε οὐδὲ ἀποκτείνας σεσώκεν ἂν οὐδὲ ἁφθήσεται ποτε ἡμαγμένος ἀπ' ἀνδρὸς ἐχθροῦ· τοιαῦτα διδάσκεις με, τοξεύειν καὶ κιθαρίζειν πρωΐ δὲ ποτε καὶ ῥίζας ὀρύττειν, ὥσπερ αἱ φαρμακίδες.

6 Οὐδὲ τὸ ἱππεύειν ἀρέσκει σε, ἐπηρετο αὐτὸν ὁ Χείρων· Οὐδὲ σύ, ἔφη, ἀρέσκεις μοι τοιούτος ὢν· δοκεῖς γὰρ μοι ἐνοικοτερος εἶναι φεύγειν ἢ μένειν· καὶ ὁ Χείρων ὀργισθεὶς αὐτῷ καὶ ὑπὸ τῆς ὀργῆς φρίξας τὴν χαίτην καὶ ὑποβλέψας δεινόν, ὥσπερ

[1] ἀναλισκόμενα Dindorf: ἀναλισκόμεθα.
[2] ἔστ' ἐπιρρεπεῖν Arnim: ἔστιν.
[3] τῶν ὅπλων with [illegible] τὰ ὅπλα [illegible]M, ἔστιν ἔχει τὰ ὅπλα S.

[1] Possibly a reminiscence of Hector's prayer in behalf of his son [illegible] (Iliad 8, 526 ff.).
[2] Thessaly, the home of Achilles, was famed for its witches.

and said he was not going to stay with him any longer, but was going back to his father in Phthia to be educated at his court, for Peleus, he claimed, was much better than Cheiron and not a soldier like Cheiron. Now Achilles was then still a lad, not yet nearing the age of puberty.

"Well then," said Cheiron, "if he is better than I am, does he not obviously owe it to himself?" "Because," retorted Achilles, "he has to pay me for it." "Because of what?" "Because of his kingship." "Is being king, then, in any way more important than being a teacher?" "Much." "But you—you give me a bit of horse, a piece of stone, and some tiny bits of iron attached to a cylinder, as if I were going to hunt birds instead of girls, but to hounds or wild beasts. But any one will find out how wretched the weapons are if ever he came to cause quarrels and had to use them in hand-to-hand conflict. Nay, with them a man must fight as he runs away in constant terror, guarding against even being seen, like a coward; even if one shot and made a kill, he could not despoil his victim of his armour, nor will he ever be seen bespattered with his foeman's blood." "That is the sort of stuff you are trying to teach me—how to use the bow and to strum the lyre; yes, and only the other day even to grub roots, as the witches do!"

"Don't you like riding a horse either?" Cheiron asked him. "No, and I don't like you either," said he, "horsey creature that you are! For you seem to me to be better equipped for running away than for standing your ground." And Cheiron, flying into a rage at him, his mane bristling with anger, darting a terrible glance of menace like a flash of lightning

ἐστρατή, μόλις δὲ ἀπαγομένης τοῦ μὴ παίσαι[1]
5 αὐτὸν, ὅτι διεκινεῖτο ἐφ' αὐτοῦ. Ἰδὲ κακὸν, ἔφη,
γύνημα καὶ θράσει μητρὸς θαλασσίας, ἣ σε κακῶς
διαφθείρει φυσῶσα ἐπὶ τῷ γένει· πολὺ γε μὴν
κάκιον τούτης ὁ πατὴρ διηγούμενος ὡς ὑμνήσειν
αὐτοῦ τὸν γάμον οἱ θεοὶ σοὶ δὲ οὔτε θαλάττης οὔτε
οὐρανοῦ πρόσεστι οὐδέν· φημὶ δὲ σε ἐγὼ πολε-
μικὸν μὲν οὐδέποτε ἔσεσθαι, δύξειν δὲ τοῖς ἀνοη-
τοις οὐδὲ ἡγήσεσθαι οὐδέποτε, ὅπου ἂν πολεμῇ,
καίτοι Θετιδὸς ἄντα καὶ Πηλέως δυὰ μέντοι τὸ
θράσος καὶ τὸ τάχος καὶ τὴν ὠχὴν πολλακοῦντες
σε φήσουσι φέρτατον ἀνδρῶν[2]· ὅμως δὲ ὑπὸ ἄλλων
ἀξιωθήσῃ βασιλεύεσθαι, σὺ δὲ μαχεῖσθαι καὶ κιν-
δυνεύειν ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν ἀναγκασθήσῃ ὥρας τε καὶ
6 ἐπαίνους ματαίους, ἕως ἂν ἀποθάνῃς· οἶμαι δὲ σε
μηδὲ τῶν νεκρῶν ἀφεξεσθαι· ἀλλὰ κἂν[3] τούτους
κινεῖν τε καὶ ἕλκειν· ὡς δή τι μέγα διαπρατ-
τόμενον ὥσπερ τὰ παιδάρια τὰ νηπία ὁ τι ἂν
ἀποκτείνωσιν ἕλκουσι κύκλῳ· τοιούτος δὲ ὢν
ἀποθανῇ ὑπ' οὐδενὸς τῶν γενναίων, ὡς σὺ οἴει·
ἄλλα τοὺς μὲν αὐτῷ[4] ὁμοίους τοὺς ἀνδρείους καὶ
ἀστεῖους, ἀποκτενεῖς ῥᾴδιως· ὑπὸ δὲ ἀνδρὸς φρο-
νίμου καὶ πολεμικοῦ ἀποθανῇ, οὐδὲ ἰδὼν αὐτὸν

[1] παίσαι Emper. ex. : παίσειν or παιεῖν
[2] ἀνδρῶν, αὐτῷ L M : αὐτῶν Wilamow. ex.
[3] κἂν Sc. : κεν
[4] αὐτῷ] δὲ ἀφ' ἂν Ἀτρ. : αὐτῷ ἀφ' ἂν Cobet.
[5] Πηλέω ὑφ' ἑαυτῷ Ἀτρ.
[6] αὐτῷ ἀναιρεῖ : αὐτῷ L : ἀν ρε BM, αὐτῷ.

[1] The unreason ne ta ... if an angry man who has just tried ... with ... being the son of a ... mother.
[2] Both Peleus ... and Odysseus (*Iliad* 10. 244) call him μέγα φέρτατε Ἀχαιῶν.

but with difficulty refraining from striking him for he was displeased to be found of him cried out "You bad, bold boy of a brave brother who has spoiled you vilely, puffing you up with pride of birth! Yes, and your father has spoiled you still more than she has with his tale of how the gods sang at his wedding, but the fact is you have no concern with either sea or sky. But let me tell you, a warrior you will never be, though you will have that reputation with the unlucky. Nor even a leader of men, no matter where you may engage in warfare, for all that you are the son of Peleus and Thetis. Yet because of your audacity and fleetness of foot and physical strength men in Battery will call you more valiant of men." However they will suffer, when as by their princes, when as for you they will compel you by gifts and empty pleases to do battle and risk your life for them in a war that's never your death. But I fancy you will not even keep your hands off the dead. On the contrary, you will mutilate the corpses and fling them in the dust, as if in wrath you were doing something grand, or as though you gaters drag round and round whatever they get. But for all your arrogance, you will meet your death not at the hands of some man of nobility as you imagine, on the contrary, while you will find it easy to slay those who are like you, brave, but stand, you will be slain by a man of sagacity and military science, and, what is more, without ever having seen him.*

* Referring of course to his treatment of the body of Hector [illegible] Book 24 [illegible]

* The [illegible] Battery, now no longer extant, had of the [illegible] Thetis, who was not a man of nobility in the more usual of the word.

THE FIFTY-NINTH LESSON

PROSPECTS

THE FIFTY-NINTH DISCOURSE

Though unpretentious in style and marked by frequent hiatus, our paraphrase is so like Greek tragedy in spirit that more than one have been tempted to try to recover from Dio's version the original lines of Euripides. Nauck, *Trag. Graec. Frag.*, p. 616, gives six such lines, which, with very little change, have been recreated with some degree of probability. These six lines are given below, preceded in each instance by the prose wording from which they were evolved.

1. (§ 6)

πολλὴν ἴωνας φραζεν ἀλογίαν τῆς δεῦρο ὁδοῦ
πολλὴν γ' ἔοικας ἀλογίαν φράζειν ὁδοῦ.

2. (§ 7):

πόθεν δή, τοῦτο γὰρ πρῶτον εἰκός με εἰδέναι,
πόθεν δέ, πρῶτον γὰρ τόδ' εἰδέναι θέλω.

3. *ibid.*:

πόθεν; εἰπὲ πάλιν, ὡς εἰδῶ σαφέστερον.
πόθεν, λέγ' αὖθις, ἵνα μάθω σαφέστερον.

4. *ibid.*:

οὐ δυνατόν, εἴπερ Ἕλλην ὢν τυγχάνεις, τὸ μὴ ἀπολωλέναι σε
ἐν τῇδε τῇ ἡμέρᾳ
οὐ δυνατόν, εἴπερ τυγχάνεις Ἕλλην γεγώς,
τὸ μὴ οὐκ ὀλωλέναι σε τῇδ' ἐν ἡμέρᾳ.

5. (§ 8):

πότερον ἐκ τοῦ φανεροῦ μάχῃ κρατήσας ἢ μετὰ δόλου τινός,
μάχῃ κρατήσας ἢ δόλου τινὸς μετά,[1]

By good fortune, four of the seventeen fragments of the play now extant find their parallel in Dio's version and will be reported in the notes, each in its appropriate place.

[1] Wilamowitz finds still more traces of Euripides in §§ 2, 6, 8, and 11. Indeed, the number of such passages might be considerably enlarged without much trouble.

59. ΦΙΛΟΚΤΗΤΗΣ

1 ΟΔΥΣΣΕΥΣ Φοβοῦμαι μήποτε μάτην κατ' ἐμοῦ φανῶσι ταύτην οἱ συμμαχοι τὴν δοξαν εἰληφότες ὡς ἀριστου δὴ καὶ σοφωτατου τῶν Ἑλλήνων καιτοι ποία τις ἡ τοιαύτη σοφια καὶ φρόνησις, δι' ἣν τις ἀναγκάζεται πλεω τῶν ἄλλων[1] ποιεῖν ὑπερ τῆς κοινῆς σωτηριας καὶ νίκης, ἑξον ἓνα τοῦ πληθους δοκοῦντα μηδενὸς ἔλαττον ἐν τούτοις ἔχειν τῶν ἀριστων, ἀλλα γὰρ ἴσως χαλεπον εὑρεῖν οὕτω μεγαλόφρον καὶ φιλότιμον ὁτιοῦν ως ἀνηρ πεφυκεν. τους γαρ φανεροὺς καὶ πλειόνων ἅπτεσθαι τολμῶντας σχεδον τούτους ἅπαντες[2] θαυμάζομεν καὶ τῷ ὄντι ἄνδρας ἡγουμεθα

2 Ὑφ' ἧς φιλοτιμιας κἀγὼ προαγομαι πλεῖστα πράγματα ἔχειν καὶ ζην ἀπιπόνως παρ' ἀντιοῦν, αει τινα προσδεχόμενος καινὸν κινδυνον, ὁκνῶν διαφθεῖραι τὴν ἐπι τοῖς ἔμπροσθεν γεγονοσιν εὐκλειαν νῦν οὖν κατὰ πραξιν πάνυ ἐπισφαλῆ καὶ χαλεπὴν δεῦρο ἐλήλυθα εἰς Λῆμνον, ὅπως Φιλοκτή-

[1] ἄλλων Valckenaer Ἑλλήνων.
[2] ἅπαντες Dindorf : ἅπαντας (ἅπαντες S)

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[1] Cf Nauck, *Trag Graec Frag.*, Euripides, frag. 187

καὶ δ' ἂν φρονοιην, ᾧ παρῆν ἀπραγμόνως
ἐν τοῖσι πολλοῖς ἠριθμημένῳ στρατοῦ
ἴσον μετασχεῖν τῇ σοφωτάτῃ τύχῃ,

THE FIFTY-NINTH DISCOURSE
PHILOCTETES

Odysseus I fear 'twill prove that my allies were rash when they conceived of me the thought that I, in sooth, am best and wisest of the Greeks. And yet what kind of wisdom and prudence may this be which makes a man to toil beyond the others to gain the salvation and the victory of the group, seeing that, were he deemed to be but one among the throng, 'twere his to share these blessings with the best? Ah well, no doubt 'tis difficult to find a thing so proud, so jealous of honour, as man is born to be. For 'tis the prominent, those who dare to undertake more labours than the rest, I dare say, whom we all do view with wonder and regard as truly men.[1]

This thirst for glory is what leads even me to bear unnumbered woes and live a life of toil beyond all other men, accepting ever fresh peril, fearing to mar the glory won by earlier achievements.[2] So now a task most hazardous and hard brings me to Lemnos

[1] *Ibid.*, frag. 788:

> οὐδὲν γὰρ οὕτω γαῦρον ὡς ἀνὴρ ἁβρὸν
> τοῖς γὰρ περισσοῖς καὶ τὸ πρωτεύειν πόνῳ
> τιμῶμεν ἄνδρας τ' ἐν τάδε τοιούσδε.

[2] *Ibid.*, frag. 789:

> δεινὸν δὲ μέγιστον τῶν πρὶν ἀεγλοὺς χάρν
> καὶ τοῖς παρόντας εἰς ἀπωθούμεν πόνους.

τὴν καὶ τὰ Ἡρακλέους τόξα κομίζομεν τοῖς συμμαχοῦσι· ὁ γὰρ ὁν μαντικώτατος Φρυγῶν Ἕλενος ὁ Ἰδαίου κατεμαντεύσατο, ὡς ἄνευ τούτων μήποτ' ἂν ἁλώναι τὴν πόλιν.

3 Πρὸς μὲν δὴ τοὺς βουλευτὰς οὐχ ὡμολόγησα τὴν πρᾶξιν ἐπιστάμενος τὴν τοῦ ἀνδρὸς ἐχθρὰν ὡ γὰρ αὐτὸς αἴτιος ἐγένετο καταλειφθῆναι, οὗτος δυσχερὴς ἔνιεν ὑπὸ χαλεπότητος καὶ ἀπιστίας ἐχθίστης· οὐκ ἂν οὖν ἐμοὶ οὐδὲ πείθω τοιούτῳ ἐξιέναι, ὑφ' ἧς ἂν ποτε ἐκείνος ἡμῖν πρᾶως ἔσχεν· ἀλλ' εἰθὺς ἂν ἀπιστοίη ἡμῖν ὑπ' αὐτοῦ. ὅστερον δέ, τῆς Λιτυάς μοι παρακελευσαμένης ἐπὶ ὑπνου ὅστερ εἰωθὼς θαρρεῖν ἐπὶ τὸν ἄνδρα ἰέναι· αὐτὴ γὰρ ἀλλάξειν μοι τὸ εἶδος καὶ τὴν φωνὴν, ὥστε λαθεῖν αὐτῷ ξυγγενομένῳ—οὕτω δὴ ἀφικνοῦμαι θαρρήσας.

4 Πυνθάνομαι δὲ καὶ παρὰ τῶν Φρυγῶν πρεσβείας ἀπεσταλθαι κρυφῆ, καὶ τινας διώκειν τὸν Φιλοκτήτην φεύγοντες δίκαιοι ἅμα καὶ δεῖν τὴν ἐχθρὰν τὴν πρὸς ἡμᾶς ἀναλαβεῖν εἰς τὴν πόλιν αὐτοῦ καὶ τὰ τόξα· τοιούτου πρεσβευόντων τοῦ· εἶδον τοῖς οἱ πάντα χρὴ ἄνδρα γενέσθαι πρόθυμον, ὡς δικαιοῦσι τῆς πράξεως ταύτης πάντα τὰ πρότερον ἐφηνισμένα μάτην πεποιῆσθαι δοκεῖν.

5 Πάντα προσεῖναι ὁ ἀνὴρ αὐτὸς ὅδε, ὁ Ποιάντου παῖς οὐκ ἀδόξου τῇ ξυμφορᾷ, μόλις καὶ χαλεπῶς πρόθυμον· ὡ τοῦ χαλεποῦ καὶ δεινοῦ ἀρίματος αὐτοῦ· τὸ τε γὰρ ἕλος ὑπὸ τῆς νόσου φεύγειν ἡ τε στολὴ αὐτῆς δόξαν θηρίων καλύπτειν αὐτοῦ· ἄλλα δὲ ἄμοιρον, ὡ δεσποινα

[1] ἀφ' ἧς UB, ἐπὶ Casaubon.
[2] τοῦ added by Post.
[3] ἄρματος αὐτοῦ τὸ ἄρματος αὐτοῦ τὸ Hartung.

here, that Philoctetes and the bow of Heracles I may bear off for my ships. For the one most gifted in prophecy of all the Phrygians,[1] Helenus Priam's son, when by good fortune taken captive, discovered that without these the city never could be seized.

Now to the princes I did not agree to undertake the venture, knowing well the malice of that man[2] since I myself caused him to be maimed that day when by misfortune he was stung by a fierce and deadly viper. Thus I could not hope to find persuasion such that he should ever feel a kindly feeling towards me; nay, I thought he dies as soon at hand. But afterwards, Athena urging me in dreams as is her wont, loudly to go and fetch the man—for she herself would change my form and voice, that I might meet him safe from detection—so did I pluck up courage and am here.

But word has come that envoys from the Phrygians too have secretly been sent, if haply they may win Philoctetes by means of bribes and through his hatred of us Greeks as we—and so take back to Troy him and his bow. With such a prize before him, why should not any man grow keen? For, should one fail in this endeavour, all previous achievements, it seems, have been but labour lost.

Aeac. Hah! the man draws nigh. 'Tis he himself, the son of Poeas, as is plain from his affection, toiling along with labour and in pain. Oh what a grievous sorry spectacle! Aye, his person is frightful, thanks to his disease, his garb unwonted too—skins of wild beasts cover his nakedness. Come,

[1] I.e., the Trojans.

[2] I.e., Philoctetes.

[3] Hartung moves γὰρ so as to follow ἥκει.

Ἀθηνᾶ, καὶ μὴ μάτην φαυῆς ἡμῖν ὑποσχομένη τὴν σωτηρίαν

6 ΦΙΛΟΚΤΗΤΗΣ. Τί δὴ βουλόμενος, ὅστις εἶ ποτε σύ, ἢ τίνα τόλμαν λαβών, πότερον ἁρπαγῆς χάριν ἥκεις ἐπὶ τήνδε τὴν ἄπορον στέγην ἢ κατάσκοπος τῆς ἡμετέρας δυστυχίας,

ο. Οὔ τοί γε ὁρᾷς ἄνδρα ὑβριστήν

φ. Οὐ μὴν εἰωθώς γε πρότερον δεῦρο ἥκεις.

ο. Οὐ γὰρ εἰωθώς εἴη[1] δε καὶ νῦν ἂν καιρῷ ἀφῖχθαι

φ. Πολλὴν ἔοικας φράζειν ἀλογίαν τῆς δεῦρο ὁδοῦ.

ο. Εὖ τοίνυν ἴσθι οὐ χαρὶς αἰτίας με ἥκοντα καὶ σοί γε οὐκ ἀλλότριον φανησόμενον

7 φ. Πόθεν δή; τοῦτο γὰρ πρῶτον εἰκός με εἰδέναι

ο. Ἀλλ' εἰμὶ Ἀργεῖος τῶν ἐπὶ Τροίαν πλευσάντων.

φ. Ποθεν, εἰπὲ πάλιν, ὡς εἰδῶ σαφέστερον

ο. Οὐκοῦν ἔτι δεύτερον ἀκούεις τῶν ἐπ' Ἴλιον στρατευσάντων Ἀχαιῶν εἶναι φημι

φ. Καλῶς δῆτα ἔφησθα ἐμὸς εἶναι φίλος, ὁπότε γε τῶν ἐμοὶ πολεμιωτάτων Ἀργείων πέφηνας. τούτων δὴ τῆς ἀδικίας αὐτικα μάλα[2] ὑφέξεις δίκην.

ο. Ἀλλ' ὦ πρὸς θεῶν ἐπίσχες ἀφεῖναι τὸ βέλος.

φ. Οὐ δυνατόν, εἴπερ Ἕλλην ὢν τυγχάνεις, τὸ μὴ ἀπολωλέναι σε ἐν τῇδε τῇ ἡμέρᾳ

[1] εἴη Casaubon : εἰ.
[2] μάλα Dindorf, μάλα σύ Wyttenbach : μάλιστα.

Mistress Athena, be thou mine aid, nor show thyself to have promised me safety all in vain!

Philoctetes What is thy purpose, whoe'er thou art, by what audacity inspired hast thou come to this my poor retreat—to pillage, or to spy upon my evil fortune?

Od. Believe me, no man of violence dost thou see.

Phil. Yet surely not of thy former wont hast thou come here.

Od. Aye, not former wont, yet may it prove that coming even now is opportune.

Phil. Methinks thou dost betray much lack of reason in thy coming here.

Od. Then rest assured, not lacking reason have I come, and to thee at least no stranger shall I prove.

Phil. How so? This first of all 'tis fair that I should know.

Od. Well, I'm an Argive, one of those who sailed for Troy.

Phil. How can that be? Repeat thy words, that I may more clearly know.

Od. Then dost thou hear it yet a second time of those Achaeans[1] who advanced on Troy I claim to be.

Phil. Faith, thou didst well in claiming to be friend of mine, seeing thou art revealed among my bitterest foes, the Argives! So for their injustice shalt thou this very instant pay the penalty.

Od. Nay, by the gods, forbear to loose thy shaft!

Phil. It cannot be, if haply thou art Greek in truth, that thou shouldst fail to die this very day.

[1] The words Argive and Achaean are used indifferently as in the epic.

8 ο. Ἀλλὰ πέπονθά γε ὑπ' αὐτῶν τοιαῦτα ἐξ ὧν δικαίως σοὶ μὲν ἂν φίλος εἴην, ἐκείνων δὲ ἐχθρός.

φ. Καὶ τί δὴ τοῦτό ἐστιν, ὃ πέπονθας οὕτως χαλεπόν,

ο Φυγάδα με ἤλασεν Ὀδυσσεὺς ἐκ τοῦ στρατοῦ.

φ Τί δὲ ἔδρας, ἐφ' ὅτῳ τῆσδε τῆς δίκης ἔτυχες;

ο Οἶμαί σε γιγνώσκειν τὸν Ναυπλίου παῖδα Παλαμήδην.

φ. Οὐ γὰρ δὴ τῶν ἐπιτυχόντων οὐδὲ ὀλίγου ἄξιος συνέπλει οὔτε τῷ στρατῷ οὔτε τοῖς ἡγεμόσιν [1]

ο. Τὸν δὴ τοιοῦτον ἄνδρα ὁ κοινὸς τῶν Ἑλλήνων λυμεὼν διέφθειρεν.

φ. Πότερον ἐκ τοῦ φανεροῦ μάχῃ κρατήσας ἢ μετὰ δόλου τινός,

ο Προδοσίαν ἐπενεγκὼν τοῦ στρατοῦ τοῖς Πριαμίδαις.

φ. Ἦν δὲ κατ' ἀλήθειαν οὕτως ἔχον ἢ πέπονθε κατεψευσμένος,

ο. Πῶς δ' ἂν δικαίως γένοιτο τῶν ὑπ' ἐκείνου γιγνομένων ἄτιοῦν;

9 φ Ὦ μηδενὸς ἀποσχόμενος τῶν χαλεπωτάτων, λόγῳ τε καὶ ἔργῳ πανουργότατε ἀνθρώπων, Ὀδυσσεῦ, οἷον αὖ τοῦτον ἄνδρα ἀνῄρηκας, ὃς οὐδὲν ἧττον ὠφέλιμος ἦν τοῖς ξυμμάχοις ἤπερ—οἶμαι—σύ, τὰ κάλλιστα καὶ σοφώτατα ἀνευρίσκων καὶ συντιθεὶς ὥσπερ ἀμέλει κἀμὲ ἐξέθηκας, ὑπὲρ τῆς κοινῆς σωτηρίας τε καὶ νίκης περιπεσόντα τῇδε τῇ ξυμφορᾷ, δεικνύντα τὸν Χρύσης βωμόν, οὗ

[1] Οὐ γὰρ . . . ἡγεμόσιν assigned to Philoctetes by Wilamowitz. [2] πέπονθε Emperius πεπόνθει.

[1] Odysseus.

Od. Nay, I have suffered at their hands such things that I should rightly be a friend to thee, to them a foe.

Phil. And what is this thou hast suffered so terrible?

Od. Odysseus drove me an exile from the camp.

Phil. What hadst thou done to meet with such a doom?

Od. Methinks thou knowest Palamedes son of Nauplius.

Phil. In truth no common man was he who sailed with us, nor little worth to men and generals.

Od. Aye, such the man the common spoiler of the Greeks destroyed.

Phil. O'ercoming him in open fight, or with some guile?

Od. Charging betrayal of the camp to Priam's sons.

Phil. But was it so in fact, or has he met with calumny?

Od. Could aught at all that scoundrel[1] did be just?

Phil. Oh thou who hast refrained from naught most cruel, thou utter villain in both word and deed, Odysseus, once more how fine the man thou hast destroyed, of no less value to the allied host than thou, methinks, inventing and devising the best and sagest plans! Just so in fact didst thou make me a castaway, when for the salvation and the victory of us all I met with this disaster, because I showed them Chrysê's altar,[1] where they must first make

[1] Chrysê was a tiny islet not far from Troy. There dwelt Apollo's priest, father of Chryseis, who was the cause of the feud between Agamemnon and Achilles. Both Euripides and Sophocles attribute the affliction of Philoctetes to the bite of the serpent which guarded Apollo's altar.

δύναντες κρατήσειν ἐμέλλον τῶν πολεμίων· εἰ δὲ μή, μαστὸν εἰνίγνετο ἡ στρατεία· ἀλλά τι δὴ σοι προσῆκον τῆς Ἰλαλαμήδους τυχεῖν.

10 Ὁ Ἐὰν ἴσθι ὅτι ἐπὶ πάντας τοὺς δεινοὺς φίλους ἦλθε τὸ κακὸν καὶ πάντες ἀπολώλαμεν, ὅστις μὴ φυγεῖν ἠδυνήθη· οὗτος δὲ κἄγω τῆς πεφευγυίας μόνος διαλυσας μόνος δεῦρο ἀπῆλθον· σχεδὸν μὲν οὖν ἔγωγ' ἂν δεῖν χρεία καθεστηκὼς αὐτὸς εἰ δ' οὖν ἔχοις τινὰ μὴ χαίνειν ἐνμπαθήσεις ἡμῶν πάρ τὸν οἰκαδε ἀπόπλουν ἡμῖν τε εὖ ποιήσεις δοὺς καὶ ἅμα ἄγγελον ἀποστείλεις πρὸς τοὺς ἑαυτοῦ οἴκαδε τῶν σοὶ παρόντων[1] κακῶν.

11 Φ Ἀλλ', ὦ δυστηνε, πρὸς τοιούτον ἕτερον ἥκεις ἐνμάχον, αὐτὸν τε ἄπορον καὶ ἔρημον φίλων ἐπὶ τηλε τῆς αὐτῆς ἐρομένου, γλισχρὸν καὶ μόλις ἐκ τῶνδε τῶν τάχιστα πορίζοντα τὴν τροφὴν καὶ ἀνάθητα, ὡς ὁρᾷς· ἢ γὰρ ἦν ἡμῖν εὐθὺς πρότερον, ὑπὸ τοῖ χρόνου ἀναλωτὰ· εἰ δὲ μὴ τοῦδ' ἐθέλησεις κοινωνεῖν τοῦ βίου μεθ' ἡμῶν ἐνθάδε ἕως ἂν ἑτέρα σοι παράπεση σωτηρία ποθεν, οὐκ ἂν ἀθυμοῖμεν δυσχερῆ γε μὴν τάλλα δράματα, ὦ ξένε, τελαμώνες τε ἕλκεσιν[2] ἀνάπλεοι καὶ ἄλλα σημεῖα τῆς νόσου· αὐτός τε οὐχ ἡδὺς ἐνγενέσθαι, ὅταν ἡ ἀδύνη προσπέσῃ· καίτοι λελίωφεν τὸν χρόνον τὸ πολὺ τῆς νόσου, κατ' ἀρχὰς δὲ οὐδαμῶς ἀνάπτοις ἦν

[1] ἄγων δὲ ἐκεῖ δὲ ἐκεῖ τοῦνον Fu. μετὰ τοῦ
[2] παρόντων τοῦ τῶν τῶν τῶν τῶν Jung
[3] ἕλκεσιν added by Fu. μετὰ τοῦ

sacrifice if they would overcome the foe; else, I declared, our expedition was being made in vain. Yet what hast thou to do with Paamedes' lot?

Od. Know me! the cursed feud was visited on all his friends, and all have perished, save such as could take to flight. Thus I too during the night just sped, sailing across alone, found refuge here. So I myself am placed in much the same necessity as thyself. If, then, thou hast some scheme, by adding thy eagerness to mine touching my voyage home, thou wilt have done a kindly deed toward me and wilt besides send home to thy own friends him who will bear the story of thy present ills.

Phil. Nay, wretched creature, thou art come for aid to such another as thou art, helpless himself and lacking friends besides, an outcast on this shore, in niggard fashion and with toil providing with this bow both food and clothing, as thou dost see. For what raiment I had before time hath consumed. But if thou wilt share with me here this life of mine until some second chance of safety falls thy way, I'd grudge it not. Distressing truth, what thou wilt see indoors, my friend!—wrappings pointed with an ulcer's filth and other tokens of my malady—and I myself am far from being pleasant company when the pain comes on me. And yet the worst of my disease time hath assuaged, though at the start it was in no wise bearable.

[1] Cf. Nauck, *Trag. Graec. Frag.* Euripides, frag. 790: *hospitable given rather earlier, &c.*

THE SEXTUPLE DISCHARGE NEBULA OF DELANCRA

60. ΝΕΣΣΟΣ Η ΔΗΙΑΝΕΙΡΑ

1 Ἔχεις μοι λῦσαι ταύτην τὴν ἀπορίαν, πότερον δικαίως ἐγκαλοῦσιν οἱ μὲν τῷ Ἀρχιλόχῳ, οἱ δὲ τῷ Σοφοκλεῖ περὶ τῶν κατὰ τὸν Νέσσον καὶ τὴν Δηιάνειραν ἢ οὔ; φασὶ γὰρ οἱ μὲν τὸν Ἀρχίλοχον ληρεῖν, ποιοῦντα τὴν Δηιάνειραν ἐν τῷ βιάζεσθαι ὑπὸ τοῦ Κενταύρου πρὸς τὸν Ἡρακλέα ῥαψῳδοῦσαν, ἀναμιμνήσκουσαν τῆς τοῦ Ἀχελῴου μνηστείας καὶ τῶν τότε γενομένων ὥστε πολλὴν σχολὴν εἶναι τῷ Νέσσῳ ὅ τι ἐβούλετο πράξαι· οἱ δὲ τὸν Σοφοκλέα πρὸ τοῦ καιροῦ πεποιηκέναι τὴν τοξείαν, διαβαινόντων αὐτῶν ἔτι τὸν ποταμόν· οὕτως γὰρ ἂν καὶ τὴν Δηιάνειραν ἀπολέσθαι, ἀφέντος τοῦ Κενταύρου. ἀλλὰ μή, καθάπερ εἴωθας,[1] πολὺ παρὰ τὴν δόξαν λέγε[2] καὶ πάντα μᾶλλον ἢ ὅ τις ἂν οἰηθείη.

2 Δ. Ἦρ' οὖν κελεύεις με ταῦτά σοι λέγειν ἅ τις ἂν οἰηθείη ὀρθῶς οἰόμενος ἢ ἅ τις ἂν καὶ μὴ ὀρθῶς;

[1] εἴωθας Arnim εἴωθε.
[2] λέγε Arnim, λέγῃ Ceel λέγει M, λέγων UB.

[1] Pindar, in a poem no longer extant, told how Heracles, to whom in Hades Meleager had commended his sister Deianeira, finding that she was being wooed by the river-god Acheloüs, fought and overcame him, and received from him the horn of Amalthaea, by means of which he gained his bride.

THE SIXTIETH DISCOURSE
NESSUS OR DEIANEIRA

Interlocutor Can you give me this problem—whether or not people are warranted in finding fault now with Archilochus and now with Sophocles in their treatment of the story of Nessus and Deianeira? For some say Archilochus makes nonsense when he represents Deianeira as chanting a long story to Heracles while an attack upon her honour is being made by the Centaur thereby reminding him of the love-making of Achelous and of the events which took place on that occasion in consequence of which rival Nessus would have ample time to accomplish his purpose; others charge that Sophocles has introduced the shooting of the arrow too soon, while they were still crossing the river,[1] for in those circumstances, they say, Deianeira too would have perished, since the dying Centaur would have dropped her in the river. However, do not, as you usually do, speak quite counter to the general belief and give any version rather than what a man would naturally believe.

Dio Then do you bid me tell you those things which a man would believe who believes correctly, or what a man would believe even though not correctly?

[1] Nessus was accustomed to ferry passengers across the Euenus for hire. Cf. *Trachiniae* 560-568.

Ἐγὼ μὲν ἅ τις ἂν[1] ὀρθῶς οἰόμενος.

Δ. Τί οὖν ἃ[2] οἱ πολλοὶ ἄνθρωποι δοξάζουσιν, ἆρά γε ἀνάγκη τὸν βουλόμενον ὀρθῶς ἐξηγεῖσθαι παρὰ τὴν δόξαν τῶν πολλῶν λέγειν,

Ἀνάγκη

Δ. Μὴ οὖν δυσκόλως ἀκολουθήσῃς, ἐὰν τοιοῦτον ᾖ τὸ λεγόμενον· σκόπει δέ, εἰ μὴ δεόντως λέγεται.

Λέγε τοίνυν καὶ ἐξήγου, ὅπως σοι δοκεῖ.

Δ. Οὐκοῦν λέγω[3] σοι ὅτι ὅλον τὸ ἀγνόημά ἐστι[4] περὶ τὸν μῦθον τὸ ἐπιχειρεῖν τὸν Κένταυρον συγγενέσθαι τῇ Δηιανείρᾳ.

Οὐ γὰρ ἐπεχείρησεν,

3 Δ. Οὔ· ἢ σοὶ δοκεῖ πιθανὸν εἶναι ἐν ὄψει Ἡρακλέους τόξα ἔχοντος καὶ πεπειραμένου αὐτοῦ τῆς ἀρετῆς πρότερον, ἡνίκα μόνος τῶν Κενταύρων αὐτὸς διέφυγε παρὰ τοῦ Φόλου μηδὲν ἐκείνων τοιοῦτον ἀδικησάντων αὐτόν, ἐπιχειρεῖν συγγενέσθαι αὐτοῦ τῇ γυναικί;

Ἔχει μέν τινα ἀπορίαν τὸ τοιοῦτο· ἀλλὰ μὴ τοῦτο κινοῦντες καθόλου τὸν μῦθον ἀναιρῶμεν

Δ. Οὐδαμῶς, ἂν προλογιζωμεθα[5] ὡς ἐγένετο καὶ εἰκὸς ἦν γενέσθαι τὸ πρᾶγμα.

Οὕτω δὴ λέγοις.

4 Δ. Ὁ Νέσσος τὴν Δηιάνειραν εὐθὺς διακομίζων

[1] ἅ τις ἂν Post: ἅ ἄν τις.
[2] ἅ added by Arnim.
[3] After λέγω Pflugk deletes τὸ κῦν.
[4] After ἐστι Arnim adds τι.
[5] ἂν προλογιζωμεθα M, ἅπερ λογιζώμεθα Emperius: ἂν καταλογιζωμεθα Sonny: ἂν εἰ λογιζώμεθα BU

[1] I.e., contrary to the belief of the masses.
[2] He is referring to the Fourth Labour, the hunting of the

Ist. I prefer what one would believe who believes correctly.

Dio. Then what about beliefs which the masses hold? Must he who desires to write poetry correctly speak counter to the belief of the masses?

Ist. He must.

Dio. Then do not be irritated as you follow the argument, if what is said is of that nature, but rather consider whether it is not suitably expressed.

Ist. Very well, speak and proceed with your exposition as seems good to you.

Dio. Very good. I tell you that the whole misconception connected with the myth is the matter of the Centaur's attempt to violate Deianeira.

Ist. What, did he not attempt it?

Dio. No. Or does it seem to you plausible that in full view of Heracles, who was carrying his bow and after having previously had experience of Heracles' valour, the time when the slave of the Centaurs escaped from the cave of Pholus, though they had done no such injury as that to Heracles, Nessus should attempt to violate the hero's wife?

Ist. Yes, there is a certain difficulty in a matter of that sort; however, if we raise this question, perhaps we may destroy the myth altogether.

Dio. By no means, provided we consider first how the affair occurred, and how it was likely to have occurred.

Ist. Very good; I wish you would tell me.

Dio. Nessus attempted to corrupt Deianeira, the Erymanthian Bear. Heracles was being entertained by the Centaurs [illegible] when other Centaurs made a raid upon the cavern, only to be [illegible] by Heracles. Apollodorus, *Bibliotheca*, 2. 5. 4, informs us that Nessus was not the only Centaur to escape.

καὶ ἐν τῷ περᾶν ἐπεχείρει διαφθείραιν τοῦτον τὸν τρόπον, οὐχ ὃν φασι βιαζόμενος, ἀλλὰ λόγους ἐπιτηδείους λέγων πρὸς αὐτὴν καὶ διδάσκων ὅπως κρατήσει τοῦ Ἡρακλέους, λέγων ὅτι νῦν μὲν ἄγριος ἐστι καὶ χαλεπός καὶ ἀλίγον τινὰ χρόνον αὐτῇ συνέσται καὶ τούτον δυσπόλως διὰ τοὺς ἄθλους καὶ τὰς ἀποδημίας καὶ τὸν βίον ὃν πράττεται ἐὰν δ', ἔφη, σὺ πείσῃς αὐτὸν τὰ μὲν θεραπείᾳ, τὰ δὲ λόγοις, τῆς μὲν ταλαιπωρίας ταύτης καὶ τῶν πόνων ἐπαυσεν ἔσται ζῆν δὲ ῥᾳθύμως καὶ ἡδέως, σοί τε πολὺ πρᾴτερος ἔσται καὶ ἥμερον βιώσεται καὶ σοι τὸν λοιπὸν ἤδη συνέσται χρόνον οἶκοι μένων.

5 Ταῦτα δὲ διηγεῖτο ὁ Κένταυρος ἐπιβουλεύων τῷ Ἡρακλεῖ, εἴ πως δυναιτο αὐτὸν ἐπὶ τρυφὴν ἀγαγεῖν καὶ ῥᾳθυμίαν ᾔδει γὰρ ὅτι ἅμα τῷ μεταβαλεῖν τὸν βίον καὶ τὴν ἄσκησιν εὐχειρωτος ἔσται καὶ ἀσθενής ἡ δὲ Δηιάνειρα ἀκούουσα οὐ παρεργως τοῖς λόγοις προσεῖχεν, ἀλλὰ ἐνεθυμεῖτο ὡς ὀρθῶς λέγοι ὁ Κένταυρος, ὥσπερ εἰκὸς ἦν, καὶ βουλομένη τὸν ἄνδρα νφ' ἑαυτῇ ἔχειν ὁ δὲ Ἡρακλῆς ὑποιησας μηδὲν ὑγιὲς τὸν Κένταυρον λέγειν ἐκ τοῦ διαλέγεσθαι πρὸς τὴν Δηιάνειραν ἐπιμελῶς, καὶ ὅτι ἐκείνη 6 προσεῖχεν αὐτῷ, οὕτως δὴ ἐτοξευσεν αὐτόν ὁ δὲ ἀποθνῄσκων οὐδὲν ἧττον ἐκέλευσε τὴν Δηιάνειραν ἀναμνησθῆναι ὧν εἶπε καὶ ποιεῖν ὡς αὐτος παρῄνεσεν

[1] τοῦτον τὸν τρόπον. οὐχ ὃν φασι Reiske αὐτὴν τοῦτον τὸν τρόπον φασὶ M, τοῦ αὐτοῦ τρόπου οὐ φασι I B.
[2] τὸν added by Pringsheim
[3] διηγεῖτο διέλεγετο Emperius
[4] καὶ βουλομένη βουλομένην Emperius, ἐρῶσα καὶ βουλομένη Gasda

moment he began to carry her across the stream, as we see in the crossing as I shall explain, not through violence, as men say, but by speaking to her words suited to his purpose and showing how she might obtain mastery over Heracles, saying: "Now he is fierce and stern and will stay with you only a short while, and that too in fretful temper because of his labours and his expeditions abroad and the life he has chosen. But if, said he, you win him over, partly by admiration for his welfare and partly by argument, urging him to give up his life of hardship and his labours and to live a life of ease and pleasure, he will not only be far kinder toward you, but will also live a better life and remain at home and keep you company from then on."

Now the Centaur went into these details with designs on Heracles, in the hope that he might somehow turn him in the direction of indulgence and indolence, for he knew that as soon as he changed his mode of living and his occupation he would be easy to manage and weak. But Deianeira, as she heard him, paid no casual attention to his words, but rather considered that the Centaur was correct in what he said, as indeed might have been expected, since she wished to have her husband under her control. Heracles, on the other hand, suspecting that the Centaur was saying nothing honourable, judging from the earnestness with which he was talking to Deianeira and because she gave him her attention, there he shot him with his bow. But though dying, nevertheless the Centaur bade Deianeira to remember what he had said and to act as he had advised.[1]

[1] Like other data in the exposition, this does not square with Sophocles' account (*Trachiniae* 560–573).

Ὕστερον δὲ ἡ Δηιάνειρα μεμνημένη τῶν λόγων τοῦ Κενταύρου καὶ ἅμα τοῦ Ἡρακλέους οὐδὲν ἀνιέντος, ἀλλὰ καὶ μακροτέραν ἀποδημίαν ἀποδημήσαντος, τὴν τελευταίαν ὅτε ἐξεῖλε τὴν Οἰχαλίαν, καὶ λεγομένου δὴ ὡς ἐρασθείη τῆς Ἰόλης, ἡγησαμένη βέλτιον εἶναι ἃ παρῆνεσεν ἀνύεσθαι, ἐπιτίθεται
7 αὐτῷ καί, οἷον δὴ πέφυκε τὸ τῶν γυναικῶν αἰμύλον καὶ πανοῦργον, οὐ πρότερον ἀνῆκε πρὶν ἢ ἔπεισεν αὐτὸν τὰ μὲν παριμυθουμένη[1] καὶ φασκουσα ἐκείνου κήδεσθαι ὅπως μὴ κακοπαθῇ γυμνὸς τοῦ χειμῶνος καὶ τοῦ θέρους ὁμοίως ὑπομένων ἐν τῷ δέρματι τοῦ λέοντος, τὸ μὲν δέρμα ἀποθέσθαι, στολὴν δὲ ἀναλαβεῖν ὁμοίαν τοῖς ἄλλοις· καὶ τοῦτο δὴ ἦν ὁ λεγόμενος τῆς Δηιανείρας χιτών, ὃν ἐνέδυ ὁ Ἡρακλῆς.

8 Ἅμα δὲ τῇ στολῇ καὶ τὴν ἄλλην δίαιταν ἐποίησεν αὐτὸν μεταβαλεῖν, ἐπί τε στρωμάτων καθεύδοντα καὶ μὴ θυραυλοῦντα τὰ πολλά, ὥσπερ εἰώθει πρότερον, μηδὲ αὐτουργοῦντα μηδὲ τροφῇ ὁμοίᾳ χρώμενον, ἀλλὰ σίτῳ τε ἐκπεπονημένῳ καὶ ὄψῳ καὶ οἴνῳ ἡδεῖ καὶ ὅσα δὴ τούτοις ἑπόμενα ἐστιν· ἐκ δὲ τῆς μεταβολῆς ταύτης, ὥσπερ ἦν, οἶμαι, ἀναγκαῖον, εἰς ἀσθένειαν καὶ μαλακίαν ἐμπεσὼν τοῦ σώματος καὶ ἡγησάμενος μηκέτ' εἶναι ῥᾴδιον ἀφαμένον τριφῆς ἀποθέσθαι αὐτήν, οὕτως δὴ ἐνέπρησεν αὐτόν, ἅμα μὲν κρεῖττον οἰόμενος ἀπηλ-

[1] After παριμυθουμένη Reiske suspects a lacuna.

[1] Daughter of the king of Oechalia.

Later on, when Deianeira recalled the words of the Centaur and when she, Heracles did not rouse at all but made an even long his journey away from home—this long journey during which he visited Pelasgia—and when in fact he was reported to have become enamoured of Iole, thinking it better that what the Centaur had [illegible] should be accomplished she set to work upon Heracles and, since it is the nature of female wile and cunning, she [illegible] partly by coaxing and saying that she was anxious about him, lest he come to grief by passing winter and summer alike in garments of wearing [illegible] [illegible] at last persuaded him to doff the skin and put on clothes [illegible] of other men. And this, of course, was what [illegible] the shirt of Deianeira, which Heracles put on.*

But as soon as his dress she made him change his mode of [illegible] [illegible] sleeping on bedding and not [illegible] the [illegible] as was his former custom, nor [illegible] with his own hands, nor using the same food as [illegible] but rather eating [illegible] prepared and fish and sweet wine and in fact whatever goes with these things. But as an outcome of this change, as was inevitable, [illegible] into weakness and flabbiness of body, and thinking that, having once adopted such a [illegible] it was no longer easy to cast it aside, he threw it on himself [illegible] because he believed it better to be freed from such a life as that.

* Here Dio has [illegible] himself the stated version [illegible] in the Trachiniae [illegible] Heracles [illegible] Deianeira [illegible] Lichas [illegible] Deianeira [illegible] Lichas [illegible] Eubœa.

λάχθαι τοῦ τοιούτου βίου, ἅμα δὲ δυσχεραίνων ὅτι ἠνάγκασται τρυφᾶν ἄφασθαι.

Ἔχεις δὴ τὸν παρ' ἐμοῦ λόγον, ὁποῖον ἐγὼ ἠδυνάμην, ὑπὲρ τοῦ μύθου εἰπεῖν.

9 Καὶ μὰ τὸν Δία οὐδαμῶς φαῦλος οὐδὲ ἀπίθανος δοκεῖ μοι εἶναι· καὶ οὐκ οἶδα ὅπως δοκεῖ μοι προσοικεῖν τὸ τῶν φιλοσόφων εἴειν περὶ τοὺς λόγους ἀμιγῆ τῷ τῶν κορυφαίων· καὶ γὰρ ἐκεῖνοι τύπον τινὰ παρέχοντες, ὁποῖον ἂν πηλὸν εἰς τοῦτον ἐμβάλωσιν, ὅμοιον τῷ τύπῳ τὸ εἶδος ἀποτελοῦσιν· καὶ τῶν φιλοσόφων ἤδη τινὲς τοιοῦτοι γεγόνασιν, ὥστε ὁποῖον ἂν μύθον ἢ λόγον λάβωσιν ἑλκοντες καὶ πλάττοντες κατὰ τὴν αὐτῶν διάνοιαν ὠφέλιμον καὶ φιλόσοφα πρέποντα ἀπεδείξαν· οἷον
10 δὴ μάλιστα ἀκούομεν Σωκράτη γενέσθαι· ἐκεῖνος γὰρ εἰς ἅπαντας δὴ λόγους καὶ πάσας διατριβὰς κατῆει,[1] καὶ πρὸς ῥήτορας καὶ πρὸς σοφιστὰς καὶ πρὸς γεωμέτρας καὶ μουσικοὺς καὶ παιδοτριβὰς καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους δημιουργούς, καὶ ἐν παλαίστραις καὶ ἐν συμποσίοις καὶ ἐν ἀγορᾷ· οὐκ ἐκωλύετο ἐξ ἁπάντων τρόπου φιλοσοφεῖν καὶ προτρέπειν ἐπ' ἀρετὴν τοὺς ἀπαντῶντας, οὐκ ἴδιον εὐφυῶν ὑποθέσιν οὐδὲ πρόβλημα ἀσκεμμένον, ἀλλ' αὐτῇ παρουσῇ χρώμενος καὶ ταύτῃ προσαγων πρὸς φιλοσοφίαν

[1] κατῆει] *edd.* Lobeck.

[1] Contrast with this *Trachiniae* 154-171.

but also because he was distressed that he had allowed himself to take up a life of luxury.[1]

So there you have my reasoning, such as I have been able to express it, regarding the myth.

Ant. And, by Heaven, it seems to me not at all a bad one or unconvincing either. And somehow or other I have the feeling that the method of some philosophers in dealing with their arguments resembles in a way that of the makers of figurines. For those craftsmen produce a mould, and whatever clay they put into this they render like to the mould in form; and some of the philosophers ere now have proved like that, with the result that whatever myth or story they take in hand, by tearing it to pieces and moulding it to suit their fancy they render it beneficial and suited to philosophy, the sort of philosopher in fact that Socrates in particular proved to be, as we are told. For Socrates indeed entered the lists in all kinds of arguments and all sorts of lectures against orators, sophists, geometricians, musicians, athletic trainers, and all the other craftsmen; and whether in palaestra or symposium or market place he was not prevented in any way at all from plying his calling as philosopher or from impelling toward virtue those who were with him, not by introducing any topic of his own or any preconceived problem, but rather by consistently employing the topic at hand and applying it to philosophy.

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